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ZHIVKOV CONFERS WITH TUNISIAN CP'S HARMEL

AU251618 Sofia BTA in English 1432 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Sofia, Aug 25 (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, received Mr Mohamed Harmel, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tunisia.

Mr Todor Zhivkov made the guest familiar with the active and constructive peace foreign policy of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria, aimed at the establishment of goodneighbourly relations and the development of mutually advantageous ties of cooperation between the Balkan peoples, for the conversion of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and for the strengthening of the positions of peace and security in the world.

The secretary general of the CC of the BCP reaffirmed the principled and invariable position maintained by Bulgaria in supporting the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, Zionism and the reaction, for the just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict upon the foundations of a complete withdrawal of Israel from all 1967-occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinians to the foundation of an independent state on Palestinian soil of their own. [as received]

Mr Mohamed Harmel gave a high assessment to the great successes achieved by the Bulgarian people in the construction of the developed socialism, and of the active foreign political activity of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria. He spoke about the successes achieved, after the legalization last year of the Communist Party of Tunisia, as part of the implementation of the decisions of its eighth congress. He thanked for the firm support which the Bulgarian Communist Party and Bulgaria are rendering the just struggle of the Arab peoples against the plans of imperialism, Zionism and the reactionary forces in the Middle East and North Africa.

The two party leaders expressed their deep concern over the serious deterioration of the international situation as a result of the actions of the militaristic circles of NATO and first of all, of the United States of America.

Both Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Mohamed Harmel pointed to the huge role played by the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries, and of the efforts of the communist and workers' parties, of all the peace loving and democratic forces, for the preservation of peace and detente, for disarmament and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The two party leaders noted with anxiety that the tension in the region of the Middle East is being further strained as a result of the criminal aggression launched by Israel against Lebanon and the Palestinian people. They condemned decisively the barbarous actions of the Israeli warmongers, which conduct a brutal policy of genocide against the Palestine and the Lebanese people and insisted that immediate measures be taken to force Israel comply by the resolutions of the Security Council of the United Nations for terminating the aggression against the sovereign Lebanese state, for an immediate and unconditional pull-out of the Israeli troops. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Mohamed Harmel stressed that through their heroic struggle against the barbarous Israeli aggression the Palestinian people and their vanguard -the PLO-proved to the world their legality and the justice of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to set up an independent state of their own. They are of the opinion that the Israeli aggression, openly supported by the United States, and its dangerous consequences, revealed the need of further deepening the active and consistent struggle of all Arab peoples against the Israeli expansion and the plans of the United States.

The two party leaders said that any attempt at weakening the alliance between the Arab national liberation struggle and the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are aimed against the interests of the Arab peoples and are hurting the struggle against Zionism and imperialism. They are of the opinion that the annexation of new Arab territories by Israel and the war of destruction against the Palestinian people it has waged, as well as the separate deals and behind-the-scene machinations, cannot lead up to the settlement of the cardinal issues of the Middle East conflict.

These problems can be solved solely within the framework of the programme for comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis as set forth by Mr Leonid Brezhnev in his answers to questions put to him by PRAVDA. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Mohammed Harmel said they stood in support for the porposals of the Soviet Union for an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO as the sole legitimate representative ot the people of Palestine. The leaders of the communist parties of Bulgaria and Tunisia said that the further active development of political, economic and cultural ties between Bulgaria and Tunisia is in the best interests of the people of Bulgaria and Tunisia, in the interests of peace and detente in the world. They expressed their satisfaction with the successful development of fraternal ties between the Communist Party of Bulgaria and the Communist Party of Tunisia and reaffirmed the readiness of their parties to continue to work for their further expansion and deepening in the interests of the common communist ideals, peace and democracy and socialism.

The meeting was attended by Mr Dimitur Stanishe, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

PEACE ASSEMBLY ENDS, FINAL ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Leaders Attend Closing Session

AU251210 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Summary] "On 25 August at Sofia's Banner of Peace Monument, the Second International Banner of Peace Assembly closed." Amadou M'bow, UNESCO director general, addressed the children. He spoke on the similarities of children throughout the world and on UNESCO's satisfaction with the Second Banner of Peace International Assembly, which has contributed to "strengthening international friendship and solidarity."

"Romesh Chandra, WPC president, also addressed the children, participating in the assembly." He dwelled on the assembly's contribution to strengthening peace and said that the "WPC and the Banner of Peace Assembly are together in the greatest cause of the people -- the struggle for peace." In this context he also dwelled on the role of Lyudmila Zhivkova in initiating the assembly and promoting its ideas.

Vladimir Zhivkov, director of the Banner of Peace Center, spoke on the importance of the Banner of Peace Assembly, and wished the participants success in their life and triumph in the struggle for "constructing a new world, free of war, a world of confidence and international understanding."

"The closing ceremony was attended by Comrades Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Stanko Todorov, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Vasil Tsanov and Chudomir Aleksandrov."

Stanishev Meets WPC's Chandra

AU260942 Sofia BTA in English 0843 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Text] Sofia, Aug 26 (BTA) -- Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, received Mr Romesh Chandra, president of the World Peace Council.

At the meeting they discussed topical issues of the movement for peace, and against the military threat, for defusing the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe.

At the meeting, which proceeded in cordial atmosphere, was present also the chairman of the National Peace Committee, Mr Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin.

Zhivkov Receives Participants

AU251910 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] On 25 August Todor Zhivkov, State Council Chairman, gave a reception at the Boyana Residence in honor of the participants in the Second International Banner of Peace Assembly. The reception was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Stanko Todorov, Tsola Dragoycheva, Georgi Yordanov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Vasil Tsanov, and Chudomir Aleksandrov. Also attending were Amadou M'bow, UNESCO director general, Romesh Chandra, WPC president, and Vladimir Zhivkov, director of the Banner of Peace Center.

Having been greeted very cordially by the representatives of more than 100 countries, Comrade Todor Zhivkov addressed them with warm words. He highly evaluated the second international assembly as an exceptionally representative international forum, and stressed the great importance of the appeal, adopted by the assembly, as an appeal to mankind's conscience. Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed the great importance of the assembly in the present stage of the struggle for peace and understanding on the planet. He most cordially wished the participants in the assembly happiness and creative achievements, and wished success for the entire Banner of Peace Movement.

VIETNAMESE DEPUTY VISITS FOREIGN MINISTRY

AU251229 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Aug 82 p 2

[Text] At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hoang Luong, SRV Deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Bulgaria from 19 August 1982. During his visit he had talks with Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of Foreign Affairs, on topical international issues and the two countries' bilateral relations.

DAILY INTERVIEWS TRADE UNION LEADER DYULGEROV

AU251135 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Aug 82 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council, conducted by the newspaper's "representative" Iliya Slavchev, time and place not given]

[Excerpts] Question: Would you please say something about the new trade union functions as expressed in the speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the Ninth Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions?

Answer: Let us take, for example, the postulate: the trade union as a social guarantor of applying the new economic approach and mechanism. Can you imagine the huge responsibility concealed in this postulate, and the great field for activity it opens in front of the trade union? It is well known that the most important thing now is to transfer the entire economy onto the principles of the new economic approach and its mechanism. In this enterprise the trade union is to serve as social guarantor. When has the trade union had a more responsible and higher task? Of course, this task encounters certain conflicts because it seems that the application of the new economic mechanism is having some difficulties. There are cases in which it is deformed, and when leaderships, organizations and so forth, deviate from its important requirements. Yet, the trade union has to be the social guarantor for the application of a new economic approach.

This is also the situation with the postulate: The trade union as a moving social force in counterplanning. This postulate also reveals great opportunities for us -- from composing the counterplan and its implementation to the process of the distribution relations [razpredelitelni otonosheniya].

Or let us consider the postulate: the trade union as an organizer of the activity of the collective leadership organs. The 12th BCP Congress very seriously discussed the issue of developing and perfecting the political system, attributing an important place to the direct democracy, whose active instrument the workers' collectives are. We already have such organs: Unfortunately, however, in many places their activity was deformed, underestimated, and they are considered representative organs, which only give legality to decisions previously adopted by somebody else. Now things are places on a new basis. And this too was not entrusted to the trade union. It will not be easy, but we shall not retreat.

Question: It became obvious at the ninth congress that the trade union is faced with great work. After the congress this was felt with renewed strength because the concrete decisions had to be implemented. How did you begin?

Answer: We began by selecting the approach. This is very important and decisive. In fact, on the day after the congress we met, the Central Council Bureau and the Secretariat, and engaged in a free conversation. We had to consider two roads: We could follow the already established route of the traditional approach of working things out from top to bottom. This approach, however, first of all delays implementation because a lot of time is wasted, and second, if we were to select this approach, during the first days after the congress we could find ourselves in sharp conflict with its spirit because the congress evaluated some aspects of our work as having serious shortcomings, criticized them and denounced them. For instance, the congress most categorically denounced the practice of excessive regulation of the activity of the trade union organs and units, especially its lower organizations. It most categorically denounced manifestations of bureaucracy and issuing decrees. This leads toward implanting an evil practice in our society, which can also affect the trade union and its activity. This is the evil of bureaucracy. In a social organization such as the trade union, elements of red tape, decree-issuing and over-administration are not admissible.

Thus, we most categorically reject the traditional approach. Therefore, we decided, without wasting time, right after the congress, to approach the organizations and without detailed and chewed up instructions to simply tell them: This is what you have to do -- and do it -- without prolonged instructions. There is no need for this. Everything is in the congress documents and the speech of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. This is the basis at all levels. And now everyone must sit down and think about what he is going to do and not wait for somebody else to think for him. This approach fully justified our expectations.

Question: It is no secret that many trade union activists, especially chairmen and members of the leaderships of the lower organizations, plant trade unions, and even higher officials, have somewhat lost their self-confidence and lack inner confidence in their power. Have there been any changes since the ninth congress?

Answer: This matter is exceptionally important and interesting. I have already said that the trade union has a solid place in our society and our system. The cases, however, in which its activity has been underestimated are not rare. Sometimes it simply is a matter of not understanding. On other occasions it is a matter of underestimating. Some people consider their rank and their position as being higher and more important, and there were even cases when economic leaders sent the chairman of the trade union committee as a "gofer" to go and do this or arrange that. There were even more drastic cases. I would not say that such cases do not exist anymore and that they have vanished, but it may justifiably be said that there has been a change toward a more respectful attitude toward the trade union and its activity.

Question: Does that mean that there have been changes in the mutual relations and activity of the trade union and the state and economic organs and organizations?

Answer: Yes, exactly. These mutual relations and activity are numerous and we can speak about a process of real change. It is not a matter of "coming to terms" but a matter of real cooperation between partners. I will give you an example from the highest level: The mutual relations between the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and the Council of Ministers have undergone substantial changes. Our government simply felt the need to consult with the Central Council on many important matters, before a decision was adopted. On many matters we adopt joint decisions. Thus, the counterplan, which we are now implementing, is in essence the joint plan of the Central Council and the Council of Ministers. We are also jointly supervising its implementation. At a joint meeting we reviewed the results for the first 6 months of the year.

Question: The decisions of the ninth congress and the implementation of the goals set by it, as well as everything you said, speak of the new and important requirements faced by the trade union cadres at all levels. My last question, Comrade Dyulgerov, is related to the work of the cadres after the congress and in the future.

Answer: I shall repeat what I said at the beginning. The reverberations of the Congress are very broad, and the mood is good. Self-confidence has improved. The trade union organs and organizations have begun very serious work. This is the great characteristic fact now. I must, however, point out that there are elements of hesitation, doubt and nonconfidence in the reality of our goals and in our ability to implement them. This obviously is a result of the existing real weaknesses, which still prevail, and the existing shortcomings in the trade union activity. But it is also a result of the really great and important tasks set by the congress, which confused some figures and leaders.

The requirements faced now by the trade union cadres are very high and very important. Now more than ever solid training is needed, and one must know the problems better and in depth. A businesslike approach is required as well as courage in many areas, courage to defend the positions and the real needs of the people and society.

I would like to end our conversation with what I have repeatedly pointed out. The ninth congress highly raised the prestige of the Bulgarian trade unions in the eyes of our public and our sociopolitical system. This was done first of all by the fundamental postulates contained in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speech. After all, everyone in our society has to take these postulates under consideration because we have a universally recognized leading political force -- the BCP -- and because these postulates were expressed by it and by its first leader.

VATICAN: LETTERS OF JAILED PRIEST 'CIRCULATING'

LD252112 Vatican City in Czech to Czechoslovakia 1745 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Czechoslovakia: According to a report by KNA [CATHOLIC NEWS AGENCY] religious letters written in the form of sermons by Jesuit Father Lizna, currently imprisoned at Bory, are circulating in our homeland and meeting with great response. Some of the letters were written in prison. Recently even the Bible, which he could use before, has been taken from him.

According to the same source, the holy scriptures have also been removed from another prisoner of conscience, 39-year old Jan Litomisky, committed member of the Church of Czech Brethren, who was sentenced to 3 years deprivation of freedom last year. At the same time, a strict prison regime is applied to him.

As we reported earlier, Father Lizna is not allowed to receive visitors, letters or parcels.

HUSAK RECEIVES FRENCH, PHILIPPINE ENVOYS

LD251324 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the republic, received Jacques Gaultier de la Ferriere, new ambassador of the French Republic to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, in Prague Castle today. During their conversation they emphasized the importance of good mutual relations which can positively contribute not only to improving mutually beneficial contacts in all spheres of shared interests but also to the development of international cooperation in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems. This is in line with the effort to establish an atmosphere of trust on the European Continent and to ensure the continuation of the process of detente.

The president of the republic also received credentials from Rolando Garcia, ambassador of the Republic of the Philippines to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. During the reception they both noted that despite the geographical distance, Czechoslovak-Philippine relations are developing positively. The suitable prerequisites for further deepening them and for strengthening friendship between the peoples of the two countries are being gradually created.

Present at the receptions was Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

ENGINEERING COOPERATION WITH ROMANIA DISCUSSED

LD252240 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] CSSR Minister of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering Eduard Saul held talks in Prague today with Romanian Minister of Machine Building Ioan Avram. They discussed the development of Czechoslovak-Romanian cooperation in heavy engineering, particularly in the sphere of cooperative production and mutual deliveries.

Minister of Fuel and Energy Vlastimil Ehrenberger also met with the Romanian guest today. They discussed mutual cooperation between the two countries in the fuel and energy industry.

LENART ATTENDS SLOVAK AWARDS CEREMONY 25 AUG

LD252104 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] National prizes of the Slovak Socialist Republic for this year were handed over at Bratislava Castle today. Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and other prominent representatives of political, public and cultural life attended the ceremony.

EXPERT ANALYZES CAUSES OF WHEAT PROBLEM

AU251230 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Dr Bohus Kabrt, candidate of sciences, of the research and plant breeding institute at Bucany: "Let Us Not Waste Nutriment -- Excessive Doses Will Not Do Wheat Any Good"]

[Summary] By the year 2000, Czechoslavkia's population will increase by almost 2 million. At the same time, tens of thousands of hectares of arable land will be liquidated because of housing, road and other construction projects. If we want to maintain the living standards, we must increase the hectare yields and the production of wheat 40-45 percent by the year 2000, which represents an average annual growth rate of some 2 percent. But what does reality look like?

In 1974, the Dunajska Streda, Galanta, Trnava, Zvolen, Trebisov and Presov districts -- which are representative of all Slovak wheat-growing districts -- averaged per hectare yields of 4.8 tons of wheat. Since then, they have achieved the same result only once, in 1980. In the remaining years of the 1974-1981 period, they repeatedly failed to reach this figure. "The composition of wheat varieties used toward the end of this period was undoubtedly better than at its beginning. Let us not be afraid of using the unpleasant word stagnation since there is no other word for it. The sooner we fully realize this fact and face up to it, the faster we will find a solution. Even the elimination of errors is frequently a good solution."

One of the reasons for the stagnation that is beginning in the production of wheat may be the permanent increase in the use of nutriment in the past decade. Let us, therefore, take a closer look at the use of fertilizers.

"Between the First and Sixth 5-Year Plans, wheat production in the CSSR increased 2.06 times, yet the use of nutriment during the sowing process increased 7.3 times. An even more striking disproportion will come to light when we compare 1934-1938 and the Sixth 5-Year plan Plan periods: While wheat production increased 2.36 times, the use of mineral fertilizers during the sowing process increased 20 (!) times. At the same time we have to remember that of all the crops it is wheat that has registered the greatest progress in per hectare yields. Does it not seem that there is something abnormal about this trend? Where are the applied nutriments disappearing to? Let us make yet another comparison: While providing only slightly less nourishment, the East Slovak Region gathers 40 percent less wheat from each hectare than the West Slovak Region. Does there, perhaps, exist a plan for drying out the Black Sea and opening nitrate mines on its seabed?"

The 1981 results of wheat production in Trnava districts show that up to a dose of 340 kg of fertilizers per hectare, there was no correlation between the supply of fertilizer and the yield, when the fertilizer exceeded 340 kg, the per hectare yields even declined.

In the sixties and seventies we took it for granted that wheat production would keep increasing simultaneously with the increasing use of fertilizers. "There was no one among us who would see even 10 years ahead. Now we are suddenly forced to admit that, as the old saying goes, too much of anything is bad."

The excessive use of fertilizers in the fall, especially when there is a drought, slows down the plants' growth. The excessive use of nitrogen extends the growth period, leads to an abrupt ripening process and reduces the weight of grain. "Potash may become an agrochemical timebomb."

As a result of its excessive use in the last 20 years, the content of potassium oxide in the soil of some West Slovak districts has increased twofold or even more. During a dry season, this leads to the plants' dehydration and to a reduction of yields. All these symptoms are even more pronounced when the wheat is too densely sown. "I am convinced that this year's drought could also have been a somewhat less 'objective cause' of the lower wheat harvest if we had proceeded more intelligently in using fertilizers and organizing sowing."

We should part with the notion that the use of fertilizers determines the wheat harvest. As a rule, 270-300 kg of nitrogen, phosphorus and potassium per hectare should be enough for the wheat varieties used today. The factor that limits the growth of wheat production is, in reality, no longer nourishment but the biological material.

"However, new genetic material must first be created. We have no reliable recipe for finding it. Plant breeding and selection is working at the very limits of the scientific knowledge of nature, discovering new biological laws and including them immediately in its work program. This work is highly challenging and it deserves greater support than it receives. Only some 0.3 percent of the resources earmarked by the state for science, research and development are spent on plant breeding and selection. And that is surely much too little."

PRAGUE DAILY WARNS OF FODDER GRAIN SHORTAGE

AU251145 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Aug 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Open Palm"]

[Excerpts] On the one hand we have record grain yields [this year], and on the other hand very low ones. However, we will definitely not harvest as much grain as we need for an intensive animal production. In view of the developments in the price of grain on the world markets we cannot count on imports and must therefore manage with what we produce at home.

This year we will need bulk fodder more than ever before, since the number of cattle has increased by about 25,000 head compared with last year. On the other hand, in view of the limited imports of grain fodder, we have reduced the number of pigs by about 850,000. We have closed down stables with ineffective feeding systems, in which the consumption of grain was high and the daily weight gain low. We have expanded those pig-raising technologies which facilitate the use of bulk fodder for fattening. We are preparing measures to enable us to manage with the grain produced domestically. We have to break the habit, therefore, of beginning to feed the animals in the stables with grain at full speed after the harvest as we used to do and of only beginning to conserve once it becomes clear that the grain will not last until the next harvest. This year, grain should be kept under lock and key even at the end of the harvest and we should rely more on bulk fodder. For example, silage corn -- which is already being harvested in Southern Moravia and which provides a lot of bulk as well as a great content of dry matter [susina] -- can, to a great extent, replace grain.

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO POLAND -- Comrade Gustav Husak today appointed Jiri Divis to be Czechoslovak ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Polish People's Republic. [Text] [Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 25 Aug 82 LD]

AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR TALKS

Welcomed by Fischer

LD251146 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1200 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Berlin, 25 Aug (ADN) -- Federal Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Austria, Dr Willibald Pahr arrived in the GDR today for an official visit. He was invited by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer who cordially welcomed his guest in Berlin. Present to welcome him were other leading members of the GDR Foreign Ministry. Also present were GDR Ambassador to Austria, Gerhard Schramm and Austrian Ambassador to the GDR, Dr Hellmuth Strasser.

Talks Begin

LD251620 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1547 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Berlin, 25 Aug (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and Austrian Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr bagan their official talks in Berlin today. They discussed current questions pertaining to bilateral relations and international problems. The talks will be continued.

Earlier, Willibald Pahr laid a wreath at the monument in Unter den Linden to the victims of fascism and militarism.

Ministers' Dinner Toasts

LD252140 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2027 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Berlin, 25 Aug (ADN) -- GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave a dinner tonight in honour of Austrian Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr. Among those present were Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Ernst Mecklenburg, deputy chairman of the Council of State, Wolfgang Rauchfuss, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers; Gerhard Beil, state secretary and first deputy foreign trade minister; Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy foreign minister, and other figures of GDR public life.

During the dinner both foreign ministers proposed toasts in which they paid tribute to the stable relations between the two countries.

Oskar Fischer said the level of bilateral relations is encouraging for both sides and for cooperation between states with different social systems. Their relations are based on mutual respect and advantageous, fruitful cooperation, free from any attempts at interference and arbitrariness. They are sustained by a sense of high responsibility for preserving peace for present and future generations.

Referring to the "drastically worsened international situation," Oskar Fischer said: "Those who are planning disaster are kindling conflicts, pursuing a policy of strength, heating up the arms race, waging psychological warfare, imposing trade sanctions, destroying treaty relations and sabotaging constructive dialogue." Anyone who is in earnest about averting a nuclear calamity should, like the Soviet Union, solemnly renounce before the whole world the first use of nuclear weapons.

It is disquieting for the GDR "to know that beyond its Western state frontier is the most intense concentration of nuclear weapons. That is why all activities directed to peace, security and international cooperation are meeting with a lively response in our state." The GDR supports Austria's efforts to achieve a balance and substantial final document at the Madrid meeting.

Like Austria, the GDR proceeds from the maxim that all issues must be resolved peacefully, that is politically by a just and thus enduring settlement. "The brutal extermination campaign against the Palestinian and Lebanese people has put the Israeli aggressors politically and morally in the pillory." The aggressor must withdraw unconditionally and without delay on the basis of the UN resolutions.

With regard to the further development and prospects of their dynamically growing bilateral relations, the GDR and Austria will be linked by the same interests and intentions on the basis of reciprocal respect.

In reply Willibald Pahr described the positive bilateral relations as a contribution to strengthening security in Europe and the world at large. He referred to his preceding talk with Oskar Fischer on the international situation, a talk which showed "many identical or at any rate very similar views."

In view of current world tensions, Austria favors a policy of dialogue and detente, conducted without illusions, and cooperation specifically between states with different economic, political or social systems. In this context "great importance attaches to the continuation of the CSCE process in Madrid." It is particularly in difficult periods that the Madrid meeting must prove its value.

Willibald Pahr referred to the danger implicit in the arms build-up and said: "The aim of all disarmament negotiations must be to achieve a balance at the lowest possible level. This balance must be global, that is it must cover all regions and all weapons systems."

He recalled Erich Honecker's visit to Austria and Bruno Kreisky's visit to the GDR, which gave a major new impetus to bilateral relations and initiated good developments in a number of fields. That applies to cooperation in the economic and scientific-technological field as well as the cultural field. The development of bilateral relations will serve not only the interests of the people of both states but also the cause of world peace.

SED DAILY: PLO LEAVES BEIRUT 'UNDEFEATED'

AU251228 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Aug 82 p 2

["A.F." commentary: "Palestinian Fighters Leave Beirut; Strength of PLO Unbroken"]

[Text] The PLO fighters are leaving West Beirut, which is heavily marked by the scars of Israel's expedition of extermination, which has lasted more than 80 days. They are leaving undefeated, as a disciplined army confident of victory and determined -- as Faruq Qaddumi, head of the Political Department, said when welcoming the first units in Cyprus -- to continue the struggle to implement the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. With their heads held high, proudly carrying the PLO flag in front, hands raised in the victory sign, the PLO formations took leave of the residents of West Beirut who threw flowers to the brave defenders.

These pictures, published all over the world at the weekend, will long be remembered. They demonstrate the unbroken courage of the defenders of the Lebanese capital, the firm fighting community between the PLO and the progressive Lebanese forces.

The withdrawal of the PLO fighters from Beirut serves as a political solution to the problem. Above all it is dictated by concern for the fate of the peaceful population of the city and it saves the Western part of the Lebanese capital -- though at a high price -- from complete destruction. It maintains the PLO as a political and military organization. The heroic struggle has even strengthened the PLO politically.

The Israeli aggressor has not achieved its main aim -- to smash the PLO. Together with their Lebanese fellow fighters the PLO fighters heroically and bravely resisted the superior force of Begin's machinery of war. The aggressors were not able to take Beirut.

The new situation shows that now the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors must take place in accordance with the demands and decisions of the United Nations. For Israel the expedition of extermination in Lebanon has become a political defeat the effects of which will last a long time. The unbridled brutality of the way the aggressors went against the Palestinian and the Lebanese peoples has strengthened the whole world's opinion that today a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict is more urgent than ever before. It has given new weight to the demands of the Soviet Union, the GDR, the other socialist countries and the overwhelming majority of the UN member countries that the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination, including the creation of an independent state, and the withdrawal of the Israeli occupiers from all Arab territories they have occupied, be implemented.

Never before has the fascist character of the Zionist regime in Tel Aviv been as clear as it is at present. Never before has the isolation of the aggressor and his accomplices been as obvious as at the recent seventh UN special meeting. They are condemned worldwide, politically and morally.

ERICH HONECKER HONORED ON 70TH BIRTHDAY

State Council Award

LD251338 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0215 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Berlin, 25 Aug (ADN) -- At the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, the GDR State Council has decided to award the honorary title "Hero of the GDR" together with the Karl Marx Order to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council and National Defense Council, in recognition of his heroic deeds and extraordinary services in the antifascist resistance, in the formation, development and comprehensive strengthening of the GDR and in guaranteeing its military security, as well as in honor of his outstanding services in the revolutionary German and international workers' movement, in the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism and in the struggle to secure peace.

MPR Award

LD252214 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0229 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 25 Aug (ADN) -- By order of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Erich Honecker has been awarded the Suhe Baatar Order. The award was in honor of his services to strengthening world socialism, to defense and preservation of the peace and security of the peoples as well as to the joint struggle against imperialism and reaction and for his great contribution to the development and strengthening of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the people of the MPR and the GDR.

Foreign Diplomats' Greetings

LD251706 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1525 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Berlin, 25 Aug (ADN) -- The heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the GDR this afternoon conveyed good wishes to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on his 70th birthday. Erich Honecker received the diplomats in the State Council in Marx-Engels-Platz. They conveyed the greetings and good wishes of heads of states and governments, leaders of communist and workers' parties as well as their own personal congratulations. The ambassadors and charges d'affaires expressed their admiration for the GDR and its first representative. They paid tribute to the GDR's policy for the good of the people, peace, security and detente.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer and Secretary of the State Council Heinz Eichler were present.

GASPAR MEETS SCANDINAVIAN, U.S. COUNTERPARTS

LD252250 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] A delegation of Hungarian trade unions led by Sandor Gaspar, general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions, has held discussions in Norway. The delegation conducted talks with representatives of the Norwegian and Scandinavian trade unions about the situation of the international trade union movement, as well as about preparations for the next conference of European trade union leaders.

Prior to his return for home, Sandor Gaspar also met with President of the AFL-CIO, Lane Kirkland.

AZCEL, SARLOS SALUTE OUTSTANDING EDUCATORS

LD191938 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 19 Aug 82

[Excerpt] Decorations for outstanding people's educators, people's artists and librarians are being presented in Vigado Hall at this very minute. Ilona Banki reports now from the scene.

Librarians, museum workers, people's artists and people's educators are seated here. They are the most outstanding among the 20,000 people employed in public education. Indeed, 30 of them are now being officially recognized as outstanding in their field. They are about to receive their certificates from Bela Koereczi, minister of culture: certificates that they may always show to others. They are being saluted by Gyoroy Aczel, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and by Istvan Sarlos, member of the Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DISCUSSES YOUTH UNION

LD192002 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 19 Aug 82

[Text] Budapest, Aug 19 (MTI) -- Today the Hungarian Council of Ministers discussed the report of the chairman of the State Youth Committee on the situation of the 1981-1982 youth parliaments. It was established that these parliaments were important youth and social political events of the period after the 10th Congress of the Hungarian Communist Youth Union [KISZ), and integrally fitted into the system of forums of socialist democracy. The government authorized the State Youth Committee to complement the operational schedule, which was drawn up on the basis of the 10th Congress of KISZ and approved by the government, with state's tasks imposed by youth parliaments, and to exercise systematic control over their fulfilment.

On the basis of a report by the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, the government took a decision on the development of specialized and extension training in labour safety and the expansion of secondary labour safety education.

YUGOSLAV YOUTH DELEGATION VISITS, HOLDS TALKS

LD221858 Budapest MTI in English 1731 GMT 22 Aug 82

[Text] Budapest, Aug 22 (MTI) -- The youth organizations of Szombathely, western Hungary, and Maribor of Yugoslavia will attend each others' organizations and exchange artistic groups and volunteers for work camps.

It was agreed at the three-day talks, which concluded today, of a delegation of the Slovene Socialist Youth Federation of Maribor with the representatives of the KISZ (Hungarian Communist Youth Union) Szombathely Town Committee.

This was the first meeting of the two towns' youth leaders. The 10 members Slovene delegation attended the Constitution Day ceremonies and visited various places in County Vas.

NEPSZABADSAG ON DEALING WITH ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

AU241410 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Aug 82 pp 1, 2

[Janos Berecz article: "National Common Consent"]

[Excerpt] A great deal is being said today about our recent problems, and we are also dealing a lot in our writings with the difficulties that affect the conditions of our management and our standard of living. We are obliged to implement price increases that impose a burden on society, and the conditions of subsistence and production are becoming perceptibly harder. Many people are asking: Are the efforts to maintain the standard of living and improve living conditions still valid? The MSZMP Central Committee has not changed this from among its objectives. The resolution of its 23 June session has put it on record: "The cardinal goal of economic policy is to restore the foreign economic equilibrium and maintain the standard of living of the population. Enhancing economic efficiency and improving the production structure and export ability will continue to be the cardinal instruments through which to attain the objectives. The essential change is that, also in practice, our economic policy will produce economic growth and domestic utilization (at a slower pace and greater differentiation than previously, on average) that are subject to the development of these qualitative factors and attach great importance to following an economic direction that effectively furthers the attainment of the economic-political objectives."

Thus, the goal is unchanged, but it has to be attained in a new situation. The destructive trend of international conditions and economic and political circumstances has not yet ceased and both our work and standard of living are being tried. Therefore, we must make allowances for the fact that this situation creates certain contradictions even in our social reality. We can definitely state that elaborating the necessary measures in good time and introducing -- should they be needed -- well-considered reforms in the most varied areas, but particularly in economic life, constitute an integral part of our political activity.

For instance, our economic system, which is often discussed, is a practice that has led to the greater competence of economic organs and greater independence and creative means of producers and productive organs and a broader scope for the prevalence of initiative. Today, however, we limit, through measures arising from the exigency of the situation, the independence of enterprises and their scope for initiative. We know and make known that these steps are temporary, that they are measures rationally discerned in a real exigency. However, how long will they be in effect? When and how will we return in every respect to the proven principles of our system of direction and, indeed, to our plans aimed at their continuing more extensive prevalence? We cannot provide an immediate and reassuring answer to all of the proliferating questions, because we do not determine international conditions. However, those who make the decisions must share the problems and information with those who bear responsibility to the working people of the producing collectives. Thus and only thus will the principle of independence not be detracted from: People will comprehend that we do not act without them and above their heads, but for them and with them.

Another contradiction is emerging with regard to the prevalence of principles and rules that ensure the functioning of our system of institutions. We are pursuing the path of developing socialist democracy, which is a social practice that is becoming constantly richer. Discovering and reconciling the diversity of interests, determining the common and connecting essence and implementing the necessary measures by creating consensus, the approval of the community, constitute an integral part of common social consent. Today, however, contrary to our intentions, democratic practice can encounter barriers at times. Amid the more difficult tasks, a tighter, more specific and more resolute manner of leadership is beginning to be learned in many places. In adapting to the requirements of international reality, which rapidly changes and creates unexpected situations, there is not always sufficient time for extensive debates and for surveying and synchronizing views and proposals. While conditions of economic activity are becoming stricter, one must immediately react and make countermoves; there is not always time for protracted discussions to reach agreement and a precise application of the norms of common consent. However, since this is an exceptional situation, it is all the more important to assert the well-proved practice of making the forums of democracy function briskly.

In such a situation, trust between leaders and those who are led and the institutions of the state and citizens is a fundamental prerequisite for and a demand of sound social existence. In cultivating it, great responsibility devolves on the communists; it is their duty to safeguard and develop socialist democracy.

Issues connected with the development of the standind of living are also preoccupying our people. Because it has not worked in practice and constituted a demand that could not be fulfilled, we have set aside the view that a systematic improvement of the standard of living through price reductions is a characteristic aspect of socialism. The price of merchandise is not an ideological, but an economic category, one which is subject to the prevalence of economic laws and is an instrument of their deliberate enforcement. Therefore, we follow the price system realistically and openly. We profess, as before, however, that constant improvement of the conditions of human existence, enrichment of living conditions and the possible improvement of the standard of living are the reason for a socialist society. At the same time, the party has not missed a single opportunity to stress that our better work and particularly increasing production is the source for the improvement of the standard of living. This, too, has become an integral element of our common consent. However, we have learned the lesson the hard way that not we, ourselves, gauge our own effectiveness. It would be futile for us to be satisfied with the quality of our work if international requirements pronounced a severe sentence on us.

Thus, amid such contradictions the situation has developed where we stress the goal that has been set, one that is generally supported by the public. Let us preserve our achievements!

To what extent are we capable of doing so? An unequivocal answer is hindered by the fact that, in the more difficult situation, there are also temporary phenomena emerging in society that are neither natural nor necessary. A kind of impatience can arise and, when that is the case, it is harder for sober arguments and frank words to make their impact. Because of their problems, some strata lose interest and are less optimistic. Distorted reports are easily accepted and hostile suggestions may cause confusion among them. Individuals or groups professing to be prophets or saviours appear, but they in fact only foment restlessness. While they speak of patriotism and democracy, they offer the same as that which is advocated by the enemies of socialism, they are smuggling elements of tension into our society, which is being built with common national consent. They are spreading faint-heartedness and disparaging our results to diminish the effectiveness of the people's efforts to realize our great objectives.

These false prophets are encouraging an unpatriotic attitude also by distorting the concept of peace, which is valuable for all of us.

The external organs of reactionary propaganda are inciting more and more openly against the friendship and alliance of the socialist countries to isolate our country from the might of the socialist community and to create in our peoples mistrust toward one another.

We do not exaggerate the danger of these phenomena and this activity, but we do take them into account. We have the will and means to defend ourselves from harmful behavior and harmful acts. In overcoming the difficulties and realizing the objectives of our socialist nation, we rely primarily on the lasting values that have ensured that we have made the past quarter of a century the most creative and successful period of our people's history.

BRIEFS

CONSTRUCTION TALKS WITH POLAND -- Budapest, August 23 (MTI) -- Tadeusz Opolski, minister of building and building materials industry of the Polish People's Republic, arrived in Budapest Monday on the invitation of Hungarian Minister of Construction and Urban Development Kalman Abraham. At talks they are to review questions of construction industrial cooperation between the two countries. The Polish guest will study the experiences of mass home-building, the system of organizational and economic guidance of Hungarian construction industrial companies. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1721 GMT 23 Aug 82 LD]

PLANE HIJACKED TO MUNICH; RETURN EXPECTED

LD252204 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2113 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Excerpt] As LOT reports, today a Polish aircraft on scheduled flight No 10116 [as heard] from Budapest to Warsaw, was hijacked after starting from the capital of Hungary and landed in Munich at 2033.

On board were 73 persons. The passengers and crew sustained no injuries. The return of the plane with the passengers to Warsaw is expected tomorrow.

Hijacked Plane Returns

LD260716 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Text] The LOT airplane hijacked to Munich yesterday during its flight from Budapest to Warsaw landed at Okecie airport at dawn today.

VOIVODSHIP DEFENSE COMMITTEES HOLD SESSIONS

Warsaw Voivodship

LD252206 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Today a session of the Voivodship Defense Committee took place in Warsaw. The session was attended by Marian Wozniak, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, and by Lt Gen Jozef Baryla, member of the Military Council of National Salvation, head of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army and deputy defense minister.

At the session, chaired by Warsaw Mayor Lt General Mieczyslaw Debicki, the fundamental problems of the capital and the voivodship were discussed, including the current situation in the sphere of social order and public security, the struggle against economic crimes and social harmfulness, as well as the further improvement of the activity of the state offices and institutions and the centers servicing agriculture, the optimum exploitation of housing resources, the supplying of the work forces with food and consumer items and [words indistinct].

The issues of parasitism, speculation and unjustified self-enrichment, [words indistinct] were given prominence. The financial services have been instructed to exact all taxes and dues proportionately to actual incomes, and the organs of the Citzens' Militia have been told to counter more decisively the phenomena of illegal self-enrichment and economic abuses.

Much attention was also devoted to the inappropriate settling of citizens' affairs, and an instruction given to subject the organs empowered in this respect to rigorous control, including social control.

Bearing in mind the need to improve the functioning of the offices, following the review of the leading personnel of the regional state administration of the metropolitan Voivodship of Warsaw, the city mayor has recalled 25 people from hitherto posts, including three directors of departments, nine deputy directors, six parish executive officers and three deputies, as well as four party secretaries of primary units.

The tasks of the institutions which consider complaints and social criticism were defined. A decision was adopted concerning the further streamlining of the activity of trade and services, including increasing the working hours of trade units on Saturdays, as well as the controlled sale of items in short supply, giving preference to the work forces and young people at school or university.

Other Voivodships

LD251252 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Sessions of voivodship defense committees have taken place in about a dozen more voivodships. During the conferences activities are defined whose realization aims to further strengthen order and public safety, and to resolve economic and social problems of individual regions.

Participants of the conference of the Voivodship Defense Committee in Plock have established that a visible improvement in the state of safety and public order is a result of preventive measures.

In Wloclawak it was decided to intensify inspections carried out with the participation of representatives of enterprise work forces and social organizations which are to influence improvements in the functioning of trade and supply for the population.

During the conference in Wroclaw it was established that the sociopolitical situation in this region is gradually stabilizing, and attempts at underground activity are not approved by the society. Matters of the village and food economy were also discussed.

In Pila more rapid reaction by the administration to problems reported by the society was recognized as most necessary.

Yesterday voivodship defense committees also debated in Gdansk. Liegnitz, Tarnow, Kalisz, (Piotrkow Trybunalski), Bielsko, Blaca, Chelm and Nowy Sacz.

MILITARY PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE COMMUNIQUE ON UNREST

LD251744 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] The Chief Military Prosecutor's Office has issued a communique stating that demonstrations and acts of protest held in several localities 13 through 16 August were provoked and organized by underground opposition circles. They incited another group of mainly young people to clash with the martial law. The instigators of these events have been arrested and will be tried under summary procedure.

The investigations being carried out relate, among others, to two employees of the "Organika-Zachem" chemical plant in Bydgoszcz suspected of continuing the activity of the suspended Solidarity trade union, and disseminating leaflets containing hostile, antisocialist and antistate contents. They are also accused of organizing a 15-minute protest strike at one of the plant's departments on 13 August.

Others accused include an employee of the Tarnow nitrogen plant suspected of disseminating false news likely to cause social unrest or riots through a system of loudspeakers in a Tarnow church on 14 August.

Three unemployed persons are suspected of publicly slandering the regime of People's Poland and it top-ranking bodies during a ceremony held at the Gdansk docker's monument and in the presence of numerous people. Their action caused much harm to the social sense of peace and security.

SOCIOPOLITICAL COMMITTEE WARNS AGAINST UNREST

LD251840 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] We have just received a report on a session of the Council of Ministers Sociopolitical Committee chaired by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and also attended by Deputy Premier Edward Kowalczyk. The committee discussed the sociopolitical situation in Poland.

It was stated that the forthcoming second anniversary of the signing of the social agreements is being exploited by the underground opposition to launch actions against the state authorities, to disturb the social peace and to disturb public order. The enemies of socialism in Poland find it inconvenient that there is a process of normalization of life taking place in our country. They are aware that time is against them. They are becoming more and more impatient and adventurous. They aim at confrontation knowing that, as the country's fundamental political, social and economic problems are being resolved, or will be resolved, they are bound to lose any support in the community.

The forces interested in the destabilization of Polish life, inspired and actively supported by foreign subversion centers, are attempting, under the pretext of commemorating the second anniversary of the August events, to cause a new wave of unrest and tensions. They are distributing leaflets and posters, writing hostile slogans on walls which slander the authorities and calling for rowdy demonstrations. By their spectacular actions they wish to gain the appreciation of their foreign sponsors. They know well that they will not gain the support of the work forces for their adventurist slogans and they are aiming at organizing allegedly peaceful street demonstrations.

At the same time they calculate that casual passers-by and young people will join them.

Signals are coming in that there are preparations taking place for open battles with the forces of law and order and that battle groups and first aid points are being organized.

The Sociopolitical Committee affirmed that the state authorities are ready to effectively thwart the street provocations. They have no intention of idly watching the actions of the political enemies and they will undertake appropriate steps against all those who break the law, disturb order and strike at the normalization of life, the spirit of accord and endanger the national interest.

For every realistically thinking person it is clear that this kind of action of the underground political opposition will only make it difficult to achieve the goals which prompted the workers to protest in July and August 1980. The Sociopolitical Committee stressed once again that only in the conditions of social peace, without a return to tensions, can there be a suspension of the martial law.

Every attempt calculated to infringe the law and public order can only prolong the state of martial law as an essential guarantee of the collective interest. The Sociopolitical Committee examined and also affirmed the principles of awarding aid to students submitted by the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology and by the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP]. Students representing the SZSP participated in these deliberations.

As the next item on the agenda, the committee discussed the concepts and directions of social policy up to 1990 and then discussed the results of the review and verification of the scientific research program.

The members of the Sociopolitical Committee also acquainted themselves with the state of work on the bill on the promulgation of culture and on the rights and duties of cultural employees. They examined a report on book production in the current year and discussed the course of work on the bill submitted in the Sejm on procedures regarding people evading work.

INTERIOR MINISTER DISCUSSES SOLIDARITY, RIOTS

LD251924 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Talk given by Lt Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, member of the Military Council of National Salvation and minister of internal affairs; date and place not given; live or recorded]

[Text] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. The second anniversary of events which initiated many deep changes in our social and political life is approaching.

The assessment carried out by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress was and remains unequivocal. The party recognized that the dissatisfaction of the working class had been justified and was aimed against apostates from the principles of socialism in various spheres of sociopolitical and economic life. The Polish working class confirmed that the ideals of socialism are deeply rooted in its conscience and that the correct shape of their implementation is the very essence of the endeavors and aspirations of an overwhelming majority of the nation.

The social agreements concluded in August and September 1980 showed a joint will by the authorities and society to carry out indispensible changes. The authorities of the Polish People's Republic entered this road consistently. This, however, was distrubed by dangerous acts of the enemies of socialism.

Bitter experiences fell on all our shoulders. The historic decisions of 13 December last year saved Poland from the specter of a fratricidal clash and prevented the wrecking of the process of socialist renewal.

Poland is experiencing a difficult period. We are wrestling with the results of the crisis and with destructive anarchy comparable only with that which led to the loss of independent statehood and more than a century of servitude. The economic chaos which threatened to collapse the economic structure of the state has been halted. The political situation is undergoing normalization. The security of the country and its citizens has strengthened. The expectations of our enemies, those in Europe and those across the ocean, who prematurely thought they already had the Polish card in their pocket, have not been fulfilled.

These indisputable achievements are restoring to the Poles the hope of overcoming the crisis, of the approach of the moment at which this painful chapter in the nation's history will be closed. The Military Council of National Salvation is working in this direction, easing, as the conditions which arise permit, the next hardships of the state of martial law. It was this progress of stabilization that lay at the source of the decisions presented by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski on 21 July this year; it too provided the foundation for the statement indicating the possibility that martial law might be suspended before the end of this year.

We are aiming to create an atmosphere of calm. This is essential for achieving full social order based on a broad national agreement and the inalienable and irreversable achievements of the socialist renewal.

This constitutes also the unalterable content of the offer for an agreement with all who understand that it was necessary to reject firmly both the pre-August deformations and the post-August anarachy which was destroying the foundatons of the economy of the socialist state.

These phenomena cannot return to our life. They will not return. Neither the party, the government nor the community want it. None of us wants it.

The prospect of normalization in our country, however, is not convenient for those external forces which have abandoned the policy of coexistence and who have gone over to an anti-communist crusade. The so-called Polish problem is a splendid pretext for them to exacerbate international tension, and above all to unwind the armaments spiral.

We all know who gets the profits from armaments and how vast they are. The temperature of political controversies has reached a very high level in today's world. A dangerous increase in tension has been reached between East and West. The forces opposing coexistence and above all the U.S. administration seek and stimulate the hotbeds of a new conflict. This results in actions designed not to let the smouldering fire go out. Blood should be shed not only in Lebanon or Salvador but in the center of Europe too; somebody else's blood on which capital can be made cheaply.

This is the perspective from which it is necessary to look at what is going on in our country today. Only a broad international context makes it possible to understand where the external opponent is aiming as well as the internal opposition supported or inspired by him.

Inasmuch, however, as the essentially anti-Polish motives of the policy of the reactionary circles in the West are self-evedent, it is, on the other hand, difficult to conceive that among the citizens of our state there are people who come forward to meet these intentions and are actively helping in their implementation. Only extreme blindness or paid treason can explain readiness to set fire to one's own homeland.

It is a cause for indignation that the pretext for undertaking a successive attempt at troublemaking is seen by the opposition in the anniversary of the August workers' protest. This intention, as it were, was heralded by the disturbances of public order which occurred recently in the country.

On 13 and 16 August, illegal street gatherings took place in several towns, clearly instructed by subversive radio stations. In connection with the aggressiveness of the participants, the Citizens' Militia had to intervene.

We sincerely regret that also casual passersby, who found themselves in the region of the riots by chance, might have been harmed by this. With satisfaction and appreciation it is necessary to stress that the community did not support the groups who were violating the law and order.

They did not get the response they were counting on. They have suffered another political defeat. Unfortunately, this has not discouraged the opponent either. The Ministry of Internal Affairs' security organs know his further plans and intentions. At the end of August the underground wants to renew its attempts at political provocation. Its scenarios are known. We have no small amount of information about the people who are involved in this dangerous initiative. They are afraid of the normalization process, of the calming of minds because they know that this takes the ground out from under their feet. For this reason, the lessening of tension and easing of the hardships of martial law cause them to intensify attacks. In Warsaw, conspiring extremists want to organize various kinds of operations including in particular gatherings of the population at four or five central points -- known to us -- of the city in order to go from there to a rally. There are calls in leaflets and whispered propaganda for the inhabitants of the city to gather in these places, particularly young people.

Hypocritical statements are made that these are to be allegedly peaceful demonstrations, so-called marches of accord. But, why in this case, are steel rods, sticks, petrol bombs, sharpened rods for puncturing tires and other dangerous tools and instruments being prepared? It is also planned to organize first aid points which would give assistance to the inevitable victims of the events. Leaflets issued by the underground provide special instructions which various groups are to receive upon arrival at the assembly points. We too know these instructions. It is simply impossible to believe that they were produced by people who call themselves trade union activists or who were employed in the past as scholars. They have nothing to do with trade union activity. On the contrary, they have much in common with the terrorism which is so widespread in the West.

The instigators of the excesses are no doubt expecting bloodshed and danger to human life. These, as one can see, are the values which they regard as something to be sacrificed for political games.

We know that the plans of the underground do not just concern the capital. Similar provocations and other forms of hostile manifestation are also being prepared in other regions of the country. Anyone with a minimum of imagination must be aware of how easily and unobservedly various illegal mass gatherings, no matter what the intentions of the participants, are transformed into destructive elements in which courage becomes cheap and there is no room for reason.

Internal peace and the security of the fatherland are priceless values.

Soldiers of the Polish Army and officials of the Citizens' Militia and of the Security Service stand on guard. No one at home or abroad should entertain any illusions that it will be possible to organize with impunity street shows for the benefit of foreign television.

The authors and producers of the criminal scenarios will not escape unpunished. The decisive majority of the community is against them. Nobody will be allowed to flout the interests of the state and the nation. If the lessons to date were not enough the provocateurs will receive new ones.

The authorities and organs of public order have at their disposal adequate and effective forces and means to guarantee calm and security. Public order will be ensured. The prudence of the severely tested nation and the common sense of the working class resulting from its collective historical experiences oppose any attempts to instigate unrest and brawls. They cannot be reconciled with everyday toil at the work benches.

Toil to build the strength of the state is the only possible path leading to overcoming of the crisis, to a prosperous future for Poland. Many young and inexperienced people have voiced such expressions as "underground" or "conspiracy". These words are connected in the heart of every Pole of the older generation with the years of struggle for the survival of the nation. Anyone who abuses such words gives a poor account of himself. The Munich-directed conspiracy of Poles against Poland is a caricature of those beautiful chapters. It is a slander on the misery of the fallen fighters from the resistance movement.

But what is most aggravating is the fact that young people are being drawn into criminal, conspiratorial activities. The experienced gamblers exploit the sensitivity of the young with relatively limited political experience.

Young people, often even school pupils, are being driven from hideouts to actions which must meet with the severe reaction of the law. The instigators hide in the shadow under the martyr's mantle of conspiracy.

Most often they lead a comfortable life, their pockets lined with millions of trade union zlotys and not infrequently generously helped by dollars from abroad. These sums are also known to us. We will reveal them. The authorities are not aiming at multiplying repression. We are looking for solutions by other methods, wherever this is possible. In Gdansk the Security Service exposed a conspiratorial group of young people in an illegal organization: the so-called "Young Poland Movement" [Ruch Mlodej Polski]. Those young people should go back where they belong: their parents, schools and colleges. In Warsaw and other towns, a group of students in hiding were also enabled to return to a normal life. These are not isolated instances. We take similar steps regarding underground activists who come out of hiding. Having had enough of concealment, they report to units of the militia and, after a talk, they go home to their families, to their work places. A number of activists in hiding, even retaining those reservations or doubts, are drawing more and more realistic conclusions from their and their colleagues' activity before 13 December 1981. We do not remain passive in waiting for people to come forward voluntarily. We ourselves extend a hand to those people who do not have the courage to do it first. Revenge is not the point, therefore, but a victory for common sense, for calm in the homeland.

Officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are holding talks in factories where, under the influence of tricksters and deceitful propaganda, illegal groups sometimes form. Recently such talks were held in more than 30 factories and enterprises. They led, without resorting to the repressions provided for by law, to a cessation of the hostile activity. We will also be continuing this kind of preventive action; although these are forms exceedingly uncharacteristic of the investigative organs, we want in this way, too, to implement the principles of socialist observance of the law. This results from the conviction that anyone can go astray, but only a sworn enemy remains in error. The everyday activity of the officials is accompanied by the support of citizens, who understand that calm and order in the country is our common concern. This support is consolidating with every month. This is a fact evident to every objective observer.

We would be unable to act efficiently without the support of society. I would like to appeal today for precisely such support, for a responsible attitude from the whole of society, each social and vocational collective and all citizens.

Fomentors of unrest and hatred will be defeated. They will not be helped by any illegal steps, by any provocations, their designs of knocking together a so-called underground society in sovereign, independent Poland will be defeated.

The prophets of confrontation ought to give up their projects before it is too late, while the return to a normal civic existence is still possible. The alternative to this is an inevitable social isolation, from which only a senseless desperation would ensue.

The course of history cannot be altered. The PZPR, the Military Council of National Salvation and the Government of the Polish People's Republic will not deviate from their fundamental political line, whatever the pressures. We will not give up the reforms, democratization, dialogue and accord, but the authorities will show enough determination to thwart any counterrevolutionary attempt against the socialist state.

The attempts to delay the stabilization of life in the country and prolong the crisis can only result in our road becoming longer and more difficult. The people who will be responsible for this must by no means count on becoming partners in the dialogue on the future of our country. The dialogue with this kind of people is conducted only by prosecutors or other members of the prosecuting bodies.

In Poland where the present is nourished by a deep esteem and devotion to the past, those people must expect a severe judgment of the future generations. The verdict will be unanimous since the homeland is indivisible: There is not a Poland of the ruling regime and an underground Poland; there is only one, common, secure and independent socialist Poland.

SECURITY FORCES SEIZE ILLEGAL PRINTING EQUIPMENT

LD252246 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Warsaw, 25 Aug -- Illegal Printing Facilities Found in Two Cities -- The Security Service found illegal printing facilities in the private flats in Szczecin and Jelenia Gora.

In Szczecin, several people were caught red handed in an illegal Solidarnosc printing office. 50,000 leaflets calling for strikes and for disregard for the principles of martial law were taken over, and so were large quantities of paper, typewriters, printing ink, and printing installations. A summary investigation is conducted by the Security Service of the Szczecin police headquarters under supervision from the Garrison Prosecutor's Office.

In Jelenia Gora, several people were arrested while printing illegal publications and leaflets at a private apartment of an employee of the city's printing house. The printed matter in question contained untrue information of the socio-economic situation in Poland and called for demonstartions and social unrest in the Voivodship of Jelenia Gora. The investigation under the supervision of the regional prosecutor is in progress.

MINISTRY THREATENS TO CLOSE SZCZECIN SHIPYARD

LD252340 Warsaw PAP in English 2137 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] PAP Warsaw 25 Aug -- To Reverse Madmen From False Track -- The above is the title of a commentary published by the Szczecin daily GLOS SZCZECINSKI. Excerpts:

"There are people among us today who claim to be Poles but who like madmen are running around with torches lit and want to set Poland, our common home, on fire again... They do not care for the price which the nation may pay for this. They only heed their own interests, which are alien to the Polish people, and their own egoistic objectives.

"August 18, despite martial law and a legal ban on demonstrations, the Solidarnosc underground was trying to organize one in the city of Szczecin and in the Adolf Warski shipyard. Only a small part of the shipyard's crew got involved in the dangerous show. They left the shipyard and organized a march in the nearby street.

"Despite the provocative nature of the demonstration, the authorities did not use force, though they were both authorized and prepared to do that. However, 39 most active leaders of the demonstration were fired from work. Such moves are no [word indistinct] of the weakness of the authorities, but the outcome of the permanent policy meant to promote national accord.

"The fact that the 39 were sacked does not mean they were left jobless. They only could not stay in that enterprise because of the social interest. They are getting new jobs instead.

"However, the [words indistinct] people who wanted to turn the incident into a hotbed of fire to threaten not only the shipyard and the city. Leaflets were scattered round the shipyard which called for a strike on August 24. This time, the call went unheeded. Following a coffee break, the crew resumed work. This drove the organizers mad, and in the desks of department heads, foremen, and middle-grade personnel they placed leaflets which threatened revenge from Solidarnosc underground on all those who oppose their actions.

"Acting on behalf and for the benefit of the nation and the state, the authorities will be forced to resort to the most drastic measures to isolate those people and prevent a catastrophe. Law has to finally win in Poland. In case there is no peace in the Warski shipyard and if there are people to comply with the instigations, the ministry is determined to suspend the shipyard's production."

GLEMP SERMON CALLS FOR LIBERATION OF WALESA

NC261104 Paris AFP in English 1058 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Text] Czestochowa, Poland, Aug 26 (AFP) - Polish Primate Archbishop Jose Glemp today called for the liberation of jailed Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and all other Polish prisoners. In his sermon marking the start of 600th anniversary celebrations for the "Black Virgin" of Czestochowa, patron saint of Poland, Archbishop Glemp also called for a resumption of union activities in Poland.

Archbishop Glemp called on Poles to remain calm and not to "go out into the streets" to demonstrate next Tuesday, second annivesary of the Gdansk accords which brought the now-suspended independent Solidarity union into being.

Polish officials fear the anniverary will lead to violent demonstrations.

COMMENTARIES CRITICIZE ORGANIZERS OF UNREST

Isolation of Opposition Urged

LD260914 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0630 GMT 26 Aug 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Trybuna Ludu carries on its first page today an article under the headline: "In the Name of Law, in the Name of Order." Here are extensive excerpts of it.

The attempts to sow confusion undertaken by the so-called underground Solidarity with applause and encouragement of hostile Western centers of propaganda, and to incite violations of martial law, can only create dangerous conflicts. The overwhelming majority of the Polish population supports legal action against speculation, misuse and abuse of position. The work forces have joined the antispeculation action conducted by prosecuting bodies.

The overwhelming majority of the population, which sees in social work a possibility of overcoming the crisis, has had enough of confusion and emotional agitation. Today, however, a more decisive protest is needed: We must, all of us, undertake to isolate those who are sowing the wind. Let them be the only ones to reap the whirlwind.

To conclude the commentary TRYBUNA LUDU writes: Let law always be the law -- every law, even the strictest ones -- since it depends on us alone to ease it.

Opposition Arguments Rebutted

LD251258 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 25 Aug 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Jerzy Bielecki writes in TRYBUNA LUDU about the program of the underground political opposition. This program can be reduced most concisely to the slogan: Five Times No. It is presented by various letters and leaflets, and, of course, Radio Free Europe and other Western radios.

First, the authorities are accused of not repealing martial law or even setting a date for it to be lifted. Jerzy Bielecki states that the authors of grievances of this kind learned nothing from the July Sejm session. This session did not, as the underground leaflets suggest, become another proof of the authorities rejecting cooperation with society. Quite the contrary, during this session and the speech of the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation [WRON], willingness for such cooperation was distinctly expressed. It was also clearly stated that if favorable, unifying changes appear, without the return of tension, the WRON will ask the supreme organs of state authority to suspend martial law. Even intentions about a date -- before the end of the current year -- were given.

Second, writes Jerzy Bielecki in TRYBUNA LUDU, the underground accuses the authorities of not freeing all the interned people and not announcing an amnesty for everyone who has breached the martial law regulations. During 8 months the majority of those interned have been freed. If the authorities do not agree to free those remaining, it is because they do not want them to reinforce the ranks of opposition. This is a matter of protecting against the activity of those persons who have declared themselves enemies of socialism.

The third allegation concerns reversing the suspension of the activity of the NSZZ Solidarity. Authors of the leaflets are not interested in the union movement as such; they do not notice the continuing discussion about the shape of the future trade unions and about an act on these unions. On the other hand they demand legalization of the opposition movement.

Fourth, cries the underground, the authorities have not suggested principles for an authentic national accord. At this point the claptrap of the authors of the program of five no's is clear, states Jerzy Bielecki. For many months struggle has been continuing for a broad platform of cooperation of all patriotic forces. Committees of national rebirth are being created. This movement is open to all who are not against socialism; it does not (?put up) limitations of ideology and outlook.

The last point of the opposition declaration is an allegation that no plans for implementation of the economic reform have been presented. There is no point in arguing with this thesis; it is contradicted by facts.

The program Five Times No ends in a statement that society is deprived of hopes for any political and economic changes. Let us ask clearly: What changes are in question? If satisfying the political opposition entails the self-destruction of socialism -- as it does according to the promoted program of negation -- then let us say honestly, such changes do not come into consideration, writes Jerzy Bielecki in today's TRYBUNA LUDU.

Underground Activity Viewed

AU251138 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 82 p 1

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary: "Dangerous Summons"]

[Text] The opposition underground has been active for some time. Antistate leaflets are being distributed, people are being called on to take part in illegal gatherings and attempts are being made to organize public rallies. This is accompanied by an exceptionally intensive campaign by subversive radio stations in the West which do not hesitate later to speak cynically about the "spontaneous nature" of the demonstrations.

It emerges from the leaflets which are read several times a day by Polish-language radio stations in the West that the "underground" identifies itself with the trade union Solidarity. Let us remind our readers: This organization, formed after the signing of the August agreements 2 years ago, obtained the right to carry out legal activity on the basis of point 1 of the Gdansk Protocol which was later confirmed in Solidarity's statute. It is stated there that the union observes the Constitution which is in force in the Polish People's Republic, that it recognizes the party's leadership role in the state and that it is placing itself under an obligation to respect our international allies.

If today the political opposition, including Solidarity extremists, is calling on the underground to oppose the socialist state, even if it calls for a national uprising against communism, then these actions have nothing in common with the tasks and aims of the trade union. So the organizers of the underground activities could not have revealed their intentions more clearly.

These "peaceful" rallies and the accompanying attempts to sow unrest are meant, according to their initiators, to exert pressure aimed at restoring the situation as it was before 13 December.

And what this situation was we remember well: chaos, progressing anarchy, a worsening economic crisis, and the increasingly ominous question of whether we will last through the winter. There was the Radom ultimatum and the Solidarity National Committee decisions of 11-12 December, 1981 which announced further strikes and aggressive street demonstrations aimed at overthrowing the authorities. Are we supposed to return to this situation, incited by the underground and by foreign radio stations? Their foreign masters would certainly like us very much to do so.

There is yet another reason why the underground's agitation to organize various kinds of illegal rallies must arouse concern and disapproval. In the leaflets, street demonstrations are described as a higher form of battle. I ask: Battle for what?

The opposition groups are not making any constructive proposals. At a time when the community's supreme interests demand that we get a general hold of the crisis and when every creative activity, initiative, universal joint action and patriotic concern is needed to secure Poland's existence and break the stream of economic misfortunes, their only program is one of negation, of opposing everything the authorities are doing to normalize sociopolitical and economic life.

The political opposition is no longer as effectively able to manipulate the community with such a negative program as it did before December, although in some cities illegal gatherings and breaches of public order have occurred at the instigation of groups of former Solidarity activists who had decided to battle against socialism.

These are not large-scale events by any means; nevertheless, they are very threatening, carrying the danger of vehement and uncontrolled reflexes.

That is why a passive attitude toward the opposition's events and a lack of confidence in them are not enough. We must firmly oppose them.

Poland and the community need a positive offer. And this offer has been formulated in the program resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and, after the wave of anarchy and chaos had been halted, has been consistently implemented for the past 8 months by the Military Council of National Salvation and the state's constitutional bodies. All activities which break martial law regulations are encountering firm resistance from the authorities. Everything which serves normalization and which creates even the smallest chance of returning to better conditions will be supported and surrounded by social respect.

During the Sejm debate a month ago, on 21 July, the PZPR Central Committee first secretary and premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, said the following:

"We disire that the state apparatus express and fulfill supreme needs and values. That every decision made in the name of the state, however severe and unpopular, have the authority of law, professional competence and full political and personal responsibility. That the law be law and the authorities be authorities. That just as there can be no return to the arrogance displayed by the authorities, there may also be no return to their powerlessness."

These words deserve deeper reflection. The majority of our community which not only wants but demands constructive activities deserves to hear such words, as well as those who are still living in a world of political make-believe and dreaming about a change in the course of history.

'Conspirators' Warned

AU251254 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23 Aug 82 p 1

[Commentary signed "Zar": "Governable, Strong and Just State -- Strengthening Achievements of Stabilization"]

[Text] The first reports on the sessions of the voivodship defense committees in Skierniewice, Szczecin, Radom, Slupsk and Lodz have stressed the working character of these sessions, which have reviewed the socioeconomic situation in individual regions and have made specific decisions. In this way the ruling made by Gen W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, has reached the stage of complete implementation.

This ruling leaves no doubt as to the clarity of the intention of the Military Council of National Salvation to strengthen social stabilization and calm, which are now the most important conditions for the success of the great movement of national rebirth and of the rehabilitation of the state. It also expresses the desire to safeguard the positive gains made by the country since 13 December 1981: legality, the development of social militancy and the successful beginnings of the economic reform. These achievements are too valuable for us to expose them to dangers, especially in view of the fact that we have just begun to solve the crisis.

The anniversaries occurring in August remind us of the importance of the state. The present crisis would certainly not have been so acute if the structures of the state had not been undermined. It is a dramatic paradox of the post-August period that the antisocialist opposition -- instead of strengthening the state in order to more effectively overcome its ills -- was doing everything to weaken it. Today all of us have to pay a high price for the terrifying capers of the extremists.

From the very beginning of its activities the Military Council of National Salvation set out to protect the state and improve its structures and action mechanisms. It has been in this spirit that many control actions have been and are being taken in voivodships and branches of the economy. The struggle against dangerous social plagues such as profiteering, economic sabotage [szodnictwo] and excessive riches, which have bunched up in the past several months, is becoming increasingly acute. This struggle waged against the groups of speculators and common thieves, who take advantage of market difficulties, is enjoying the support of all our people, and its significance far exceeds legal considerations. In fact, it is a struggle for principles and for the value and topicality of the socialist rules of social justice.

Those who want to sow unrest-- the "underground conspirators" who are dreaming about strikes and demonstrations -- should realize most forcefully that every attempt to undermine the strength of the state and its organs will encounter a resolute response and that no one will relieve them of responsibility for the damage inflicted on society.

Profiteers and the newly rich, who grow fat on the misery of their countrymen, should also realize that our people are so angry with their illicit practices that every campaign -- even the most severe one -- against the "black market" will be fully approved and supported.

It is a truism to say that today most Poles want peace and secure and well-organized work. They also want guarantees that everyone observes the law, no matter what job and social position one holds. All discussions and deliberations about our people's and state's future will prove futile if stabilization based on work and law is not ensured.

We all know that the first thing to do is to safeguard and strengthen the state in order to draw on its organization and correct functioning for energy to continue further necessary reforms. Gen W. Jaruzelski's decision and the conclusions reached by the sessions of the voivodship defense committees will certainly serve this cause.

WARSAW DAILY CITES WYSZYNSKI ON 'RESTRAINT'

LD250926 Warsaw PAP in English 0718 GMT 25 Aug 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw 24 Aug -- The Warsaw daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY carries an article by its editor-in-chief Zdzislaw Morawski marking the second anniversary of a sermon preached by the late Polish Primate Stefan Cardinal Wysznski in Czestochowa on August 28, 1980. Quoting lengthy excerpts of the sermon, the author asked, "What are the conclusions today, after two years, from the primate's teachings addressed to the Polish society which was then seething with protest?"

"The first lesson concerning both 'the grassroots' and 'the top' -- that is all the structures making up the form of existence in the Polish state -- is the sense of restraint, common sense and calm as the indispensable elements of building order, creating the things and conditions serving constructive solution of even the most difficult problems."

Zdzislaw Morawski stressed that the late primate's "posture, full of dignity and peace" remains "in the history of our nation together with his courage...together with his calm and dignity of a man acting not in the name of anybody's interests but for the sake of truth -- the way he understood it."

In conclusion, Morawski said: "I don't know whether the floral crosses formed in tribute to the primate of the millenium are always an expression of the way of thinking about national matters, which Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski served with his life and example.

"I am deeply convinced that again, like two years ago, in many actions and gestures -- perhaps unconsciously, perhaps in embitterment or loss, which come so easily in the present days -- we are forgetting about the lesson contained in the life of the cardinal and about his courageous words that did not soothe the casual moods."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY INTERVIEWS DEPUTY PREMIER RAKOWSKI

AU250743 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21-22 Aug 82 pp 1,2, 6

[Zdzislaw Morawski interview with Vice Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: "Without Dodging and Glossing Over" -- date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Despite this hot summer and vacations, the pulse of our country's political life does not seem to have slowed down. This has induced us to ask for a talk with you about important and worthy issues. I propose that we review the country's situation.

[Answer] I accept your proposal because I also want to tell the public about my thoughts as well as about the present events, attitudes and views in Poland that are having an impact on the political climate and on the feelings of millions and millions of my countrymen, including their position vis-a-vis the successive initiatives of the PZPR and its allied parties and the decisions made by the state authorities.

Let me begin with the pulse of our political life. If we have in mind the militancy of not only the power apparatus, but also of our citizens, then it seems to me that the pulse of our citizens has slowed down a little on account of the heat wave, vacations and other reasons.

It seems to me that aside from traditionally militant citizens' various strata of society are displaying in many cases indifferent attitudes toward the problems that we call political. This is being manifested in a number of spheres of public life. The Sejm's laws, which are crucial and which deeply affect the structures of our socioeconomic life, have failed to elicit an interest that corresponds with their profound importance, and the various discussions sponsored by the mass media in this connection have met with a limited response. The attendance at meetings and gatherings is often poor, but this does not apply to all meetings, of course. Attitudes that we can describe as "isolating oneself" are not infrequent. It is worth adding that the indifference I have mentioned also applies to the many actions sponsored by Solidarity's conspiratory echelons. It is true that people do read this or that scrap of illegal printed matter, but this does not mean that they are automatically ready to participate in public protests, although camouflaged Solidarity activists and a number of Western radio stations, especially Radio Free Europe, continue to call for such participation.

[Question] I can guess what the commentaries of Radio Free Europe and the Western press will be on what you have just said. Triumphant cries will be heard such as "Rakowski has conceded that the 'military junta' is encountering the society's increasing indifference."

[Answer] Such commentaries may appear, but they are pointless. Our main duty is to conduct an unceasing dialogue with our society. The effectiveness of such a dialogue depends to a great extent on our veracity. I see no reason why we should not talk about the phenomena that are also against the power apparatus. Concealing our weakness and even defeats is not in the interest of socialism and the Poland for which we are fighting. Such an attitude is one reason for the fact that our policy has decisively abandoned the practice of the seventies and that we want to create a type of power-citizen relationship that will facilitate the consolidation [konsolidacja] of all reasonable people of good will. As a people we are facing tasks that are too great to be able to afford the luxury of dodging and glossing over. If the enemies of socialist Poland think that they can make capital out of our openness and frankness, then they will reap no dividends in the long run.

[Question] Let us then return to indifferent attitudes. Why do you think such attitudes exist?

[Answer] There are many reasons for them, and I think that the most important reason is what I would call the "fatigue of the material." As they say, many people are sick and

tired of politics, which, I think, is a natural reaction to the typical surfeit of politics between August [1980] and December [1981]. Besides, there is more to it than just this surfeit: The certain contents and forms that this politics has produced. At that time the average citizen was being attacked almost every day by mutually exclusive views, evaluations and facts, which agitated him greatly or which demolished his ideas about issues and people, produced by the school, the place of work, family, friends and so on. The situation was heated and fluid. Cool judgment gave way to excitement. Reality succumbed to myths and psychoses. It was increasingly difficult to hold one's own views and, consequently, to choose the right attitude. We can say that almost all our people were "sitting on a swing."

You cannot live like that for a long time, and this is why the present distance from politics is in a way natural. Most of our people want a period of calm, that is, of mental relaxation. The country's present economic situation is another reason for indifference. Painful slumps in our living standards are responsible for the fact that millions and millions of Poles are focusing their attention more than ever on very pedestrian issues. In a word, social problems are banishing "high politics" into the background, and these problems are not just countrywide: They are the worry of almost every family.

[Question] You have said that the retreat from politics is natural. Even if we grant that your arguments are correct it would no doubt be right to say that indifferent attitudes cannot be regarded as crucial obstacles to achieving the social and economic aims of the Ninth PZPR Congress program.

[Answer] This is true, and that is why I am talking about them, trying to see the reasons for them, which does not at all mean that we will watch this phenomenon calmly and dispassionately. If indifferent attitudes were to multiply and exist for a long time, then they could really hinder the implementation of the program for reforms and socialist renewal. No economic or administrative apparatus -- not even the most efficient one -- will be able to implement such a rich program without the most extensive possible support of the people. That is why we must be aware of this threat and, while knowing what it is all about, counter it. Of course, this depends to a great extent on the wisdom of those who govern as well.

Speaking of threats: I want to indicate another threat that is just as dangerous as indifference. We have often said that martial law is a typical protective umbrella that makes it possible to begin implementing the economic and social reforms programmed by the Ninth Party Congress. Progress in this regard was impossible in the second half of 1981 because, plainly, the Solidarity bosses continued to sabotage our every measure. I do accept that many a citizen will regard such an evaluation as another example of the efforts to combat Solidarity. No, this is not attacking the entire Solidarity trade union. Even in the circumstances of most acute conflicts we have always been aware of the differences between the expectations the workers had of Solidarity and the ambitions and aims of Solidarity leaders. What is more, during the initial stages of Solidarity activities, I thought that its leadership was inspired by the same desires as those of the working people. Now, after I have gone through all the experiences, I am convinced that history will most negatively evaluate the role of Solidarity leaders and advisers, who, moved by their reluctance and often by their ferocious hatred for real socialism, engaged in destructuve activities, which reduced to a minimum our ability to reform that which should be reformed. We should bear in mind that, objectively, at the beginning of the fall of 1980 there was every opportunity for calmly and wisely -- and not recklessly -- sorting out our own affairs so that we could all live comfortably in our Polish house.

Please excuse this digression, but I cannot regret enough the period in which opportunities were wasted with a vengeance and when the appeals, warnings and good will, demonstrated so often by the power apparatus, were ignored. Now we have to come to terms with the fact that achieving the aims that inspired our workers in the summer of 1980 and that were included in the Ninth PZPR Congress program will require several years of painstaking efforts.

Let us, however, return to the protective umbrella I have mentioned. The thing is that the state and economic administrations include the people who in their daily work conduct themselves as though whatever happened in the past was just a light dream that one forgets upon waking up. These people include leaders at various levels. They regard martial law as a license to continue the work style and methods that the party and working people have often condemned. We are registering cases in which the basic needs of the working people are ignored, in which one's conduct corresponds with the principle "I am power and let no one interfere with my activities," in which discipline, which we need so much, is interpreted in the manner of Prussia, and so on and so forth.

There have also been attempts to place in responsible positions the people who were correctly told in August 1980 that they were unfit to hold leading posts. I want to clearly stress that I have not in mind those people who at that time became victims of ferocious demagogy, slander and unjustified accusations. These people deserve satisfaction. While constantly seeing that the administrative and economic cadres enjoy the support of the community in which they are active, we must bear in mind that these cadres have never had an easy life. They have been attacked wholesale and have even been pushed around. Today the government is giving them large and difficult tasks, which are not easy to accomplish. After all, we must not forget that our industries are working under very difficult conditions and that the elements that put anarchy into our social life not so long ago have left their imprints in the form of very bad discipline, increased absenteeism and so on. The power apparatus also includes the people who continue to forget that the workers class is watching all of us very closely and that our every step is being thoroughly analyzed. It was no accident that Gen W. Jaruzelski has spoken of the arrogance of power as a very dangerous phenomenon, one which it is necessary to combat with energy because it would create serious threats to our reform program if it became a more widespread and massive phenomenon.

Another observation: People are continuing to complain all the time against the civil servant's casual attitude toward citizens. Old-age pensioners have to wait several months before their pensions are calculated, have to stand in line for several hours to obtain their ration cards or have to wait until doomsday for a meaningful reply to their complaints or letters. I think that, aside from the measures taken by the party and government, the committees of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth should also actively interfere in this sphere of public life.

What I have said shows that we must fight on two fronts, one of which is the struggle against those who, consciously or not, conduct themselves in such a way as to induce our citizens to doubt our slogans and programs and to lead various strata of society to assume that the old "tested" methods are back again.

[Question] The second anniversary of the Gdansk and Szczecin accords will fall on 31 August. If POLITYKA asked you to comment on this anniversary what would you say?

[Answer] First of all I would write that the workers class was right to be dissatisfied at that time, that the working people did not come out against socialism, but against its deformations, and that they wanted more -- not less -- socialism. In accordance with the appraisal formulated by the Ninth PZPR Congress, I would also write that as a leading force in the construction of the socialist system, the PZPR -- or more strictly its leadership -- was responsible for the errors made at that time. In addition, while not condoning the voluntarism, arrogance and common haughtiness of Edward Gierek and his closest aides, I would try to search for other reasons for the deformations in question. I would also see them in Poland's history and primarily in the period of over 100 years when our people did not have a state of their own. I would see them in the fact that the social classes that took over power after World War II had no experience in government, in some of our national traits and so on.

I would also write about the other side of the coin -- about the fact that the honest discontent and protest of workers were taken advantage of by the enemies of socialism, by the classic Polish rightwing and by the ferocious enemies of the PZPR. I would

recall that in August 1980 the adversaries of socialism actively manipulated the minds of some groups of protesting workers. I would also appeal to historians and political experts to thoroughly examine the circumstances under which the KOR [Worker's Defense Committee] activists appeared in the Lenin shipyards in the second half of August. In conclusion I would add that the political forces that are loyal to socialism and are determined to create the safeguards to exclude the recurrence of crises and, in particular, the recurrence of the party's dissociation from the people and their desires, also must take from the post-August period whatever was and is advantageous to socialism.

Speaking of the party's dissociation from the people: During my visit to Cuba last February I had a long talk with Fidel Castro, who asked me to give him an exact account of what had happened in Poland between August and December. When I finished my account Fidel rose from his easy chair and began pacing up and down the room. Then he stopped in front of me and said: "Yes, this means that you have broken away from the people."

[Question] Let us linger on anniversaries. It is no secret that the Solidarity underground echelons have announced various protest actions on the second anniversary of the accords in question. The most recent disturbances in Gdansk, Warsaw and Nowa Huta are proof of that. Mr Premier [as published], how do you evaluate these appeals for protests and so on?

[Answer] There is no doubt that the Solidarity underground echelons have increased their activities in connection with the aforementioned anniversaries. The extreme activists of suspended Solidarity, who fully deserve the label of antisocialist oppositionists, want to prove that they are an influential political force that is able to impose its solutions. Of course, it is difficult now to foresee how big the planned public protest actions will be, but one thing is certain: The power apparatus will maintain its nerves of iron and will take determined actions to preserve law and order. We will not go back to the political-economic errors of before August 1980, nor will we abandon the road we embarked upon on 13 December 1981 -- the road of determined opposition against the activities that plunged the country into poverty, willfulness and anarchy and that continued to destroy the Polish state's economy and foundations.

We will do that because what is still at stake is Poland's future, safeguarding the permanence of its existence as a state, and normalization, which is a condition for overcoming our crisis that is so painful for our people. As for those Solidarity members who are inclined to support the plans of the extremists, they should realize that their attachment to the idea of the trade union movement they created in the fall of 1980 is an object of manipulation by political gamblers who are convinced of their own greatness.

I think that those Solidarity members should stop and think for a moment why it is that the extreme activists of Solidarity and members of KOR and the Confederation for an Independent Poland enjoy such determined support from the world's blackest reactionaries. Does not the fact that the Solidarity activists who are abroad are now establishing contacts with the West German revisionists -- the sworn enemies of Poland -- force one to stop and think?

While noting an increase in the Solidarity underground movement's recklessness, we must not ignore the role now played by the bourgeois press and the subversive radio stations such as Radio Free Europe, the VOA, the Deutschlandfunk and others. There is a single motive behind the materials published and broadcast: that more serious unrest may take place in Poland. This wish was also quite obvious in the bourgeois commentaries on the attempts to create disturbances in the cities you have mentioned.

The aforementioned radio stations not only are trying to create the impression that Poland has found itself on the threshold of a great explosion, but are also conducting a kind of action to provide instruction. Referring to the actual or invented statements made by the Solidarity underground movement, they in fact provide instruction on how to violate law and order and when. Some of the Western correspondents in Warsaw continue

to stick to a scheme in line with which the "military junta" is on one side of the fence and all the people on the other side. Another scheme that is being tirelessly recapitulated is based on the statement that the Polish authorities have been marking time ever since 13 December 1981 and that nothing is happening in Poland. In a word, things are bad and must go from bad to worse.

In this connection readers and listeners are being fed the stuff that the party and government will have to capitulate in the end and to allow the situation that brought our country to the brink of catastrophe before 13 December to return. I am a journalist myself and know all the tricks of the trade. I know what it means for a journalist to obtain interesting information, but what some Western reporters in Poland write about our country has little in common with journalist ethics. These reporters publish false, unverified information, and sensationalism is often their first commandment. They continue to hover around the spots in which they think something should happen and then they write about "general opposition," "general protests" and so on.

I will not exaggerate when I assert that the Polish Government's internal policy is now being massively attacked by the anticommunist centers. We are witnessing yet another attempt to make Poland a pawn on the anticommunist chessboard and a hotbed of a European and perhaps a world conflict. These centers want to prove to the entire world that there is still something in Poland to play with and that it is still possible to incite Polish society, which is an explosive element in the socialist camp. The conviction that if these aims are not achieved now they may not be achieved tomorrow dictates such a policy.

After all, it is common knowledge that the White House, which is the chief conductor of NATO, and its environs still have great hopes that the situation that occurred in Poland last fall may further develop. At that time they expected that there would be a confrontation with the power apparatus, which would develop into a civil war, and that such a war would enmesh the Warsaw Pact in the Polish question and would change the balance of power in the world. This was what they openly said and wrote. We know from many credible sources, some of which are some of the famous U.S. journalists visiting Poland, that the moment the news about martial law in Poland arrived, some high functionaries of the Reagan administration were unable to restrain their true emotions. They were made because the Military Council of National Salvation and our armed forces had ended the aforementioned expectations. Well, we can do nothing about their disappointment and their bad feelings. What matters most to us is Poland's calm and security.

[Question] I am afraid that our readers will be somewhat incredulous of your views...

[Answer] Perhaps, but you did want to hear my views about the present situation. Well, you have heard them.

[Question] You have interrupted me in the middle of my question. I have mentioned our readers' incredulity because the commentaries published by the Polish, European and American press show that the decisions made by the Military Council of National Salvation -- these decisions were announced by Gen W. Jaruzelski at the 21 July session of the Sejm -- were, generally speaking, positively accepted by the West.

[Answer] No, note quite. There are nuances in the West's responses that we must see. As for the United States, it is obvious that the administration is continuing some kind of discussion about what steps should be taken vis-a-vis Poland. They say that the State Department holds the view that further relaxations of martial law and the release of most internees should be recognized as quite positive events and that therefore the United States should begin gradually toning down the restrictions against Poland. However, the president and his closest aides do not intend for the time being to give up the so-called three conditions formulated in Brussels. In this connection the White House has decided that the relaxation of the rigors of martial law is greatly inadequate, which means that the line of compelling the Polish authorities to follow their policy in accordance with the wishes and injunctions of and even with a schedule laid down by the White House will be continued.

I think that it is superfluous to adduce many reasons for our position. Briefly, the Polish Government's decisions were and will be sovereign. As for Western Europe, most of the responses to the decisions published on 21 July differed from the U.S. response. I would say they were more realistic and substantial. Many serious West European politicians reluctantly agree to the U.S. restrictions and regard the White House's policy vis-a-vis Poland as reckness and out of tune with European and world reality. So there are differences in the West, but at the moment there are not many reasons why we should have undue hopes in this connection. The European members of NATO do accept in the final reckoning, albeit with some modifications, the position adopted by the U.S. Government with regard to the various measures taken by the Polish authorities. This is so because it is not easy for the West to bid goodbye to its vision of the Poland that helps weaken the socialist community. Even if today, as we hear, many bourgeois politicians take the view that it is impossible to recreate the situation that existed before December [1981], they will publicly demand that it should be recreated because this is a convenient position in the struggle that is going on between the socialist and capitalist systems.

The bourgeois press is giving keen support to these tactics of politicians. For example, most Western papers have consciously minimized the decisions made on 21 July. NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG wrote that "the regime is irritated that the people have not shown gratitude for the concessions. People are now disappointed that the military junta has wasted the opportunity for radical changes in its policy." I tell you I have never noticed any irritation, and as for a "feeling of disappointment," this is a figment of the imagination. Our people, whose views on many key problems of the country are not uniform, are not uniform in reacting to our policy, but they are reacting to it with increasing understanding. Public polls are one thing that confirm this. But let us talk no more about the press.

[Question] The West is demanding that the Polish authorities renew their dialogue with the church. However, in view of the present state-church relations, this demand is rather propaganda.

[Answer] It is also demagogy because a constructive dialogue between the government and the church's highest hierarchy is an indispensable element of Poland's sociopolitical relations. This dialogue has never been interrupted. It is going on and its subjects are serious. For example, the issue of the most favorable date for the papal visit to Poland was discussed with the church hierarchy and the Holy See, which accepted our government's position with understanding.

It is obvious that the dialogue also concerns difficult problems, which are controversial at times, and which means that either side is not always 100 percent satisfied with it.

For example, as far as the state authorities are concerned, they cannot come to terms with that section of the clergy which has nothing to do with worship and shows no concern for high morals among believers nor for charitable activity. Part of my duties as a deputy premier responsible for a wide range of improvements in the government is also to carefully monitor and analyze social life in Poland in all its various manifestations. Therefore, I can say that judging from the reports and letters I receive, cases of some clergymen using their pulpits and meetings with worshippers to announce openly antistate slogans are not at all rare. In Poland, in a country where several hundred churches are being built at present, the authorities are accused of "godless activities" and of making it difficult for people to worship. From the pulpits come words full of, unfortunately, intolerance ("atheism has no place in our nation") or which really call for a crusade against Marxists and against authority said to be under the control of "godless atheists." One could also say a lot about all the various kinds of anniversaries and their significance, as well as those anniversaries connected with dramatic moments in our recent history. These are being used by some priests to open up wounds that have hardly healed yet.

If after what I have said people start shouting that I have "brutally attacked the church," then I say straightaway that this is a punch below the belt. I appreciate and

respect these streams of thought and trends in the policy of the hierarchy which contain not only realism, but also the conviction that it is necessary for the entire nation to concentrate itself on important aims. I listened with great attention and satisfaction to the primate's 15 August homily at Jasna Gora, extensive parts of which were televised. One should also remind people that the weight of People's Poland is being borne by millions of Catholics in unison not only with nonbelievers, but with followers of other faiths, and that this is not being done for the first time today. The primate is close to everyone alike. Any thought of attacking or preparing for battle with the church is far from my mind. This would be contrary to our state's policy. However, I consider it essential to present a few facts which in my opinion, and perhaps someone will disagree with me, do not serve to stabilize attitudes in Poland or unify feelings, which is what the country needs so much.

[Question] While we are talking about dialogue, I would like to refer to the theses and proposals of the primate of Poland's Social Council which were formulated in April and May this year. Generally speaking, these concern the conditions which the council lays down for the church's participation in national agreement. The view is spreading that the authorities were reluctant to accept the council's documents and there is regret shown that the documents did not become a topic for discussion.

[Answer] These are empty assumptions. No government representative has expressed such a stance in any speech. However, it is a fact that the abovementioned views are repeated by subversive radio stations with the aim of convincing the community that the authorities of People's Poland do not want agreement, since they ignore the views of the church.

[Question] And how do you appraise the theses and proposals of the primate of Poland's Social Council?

[Answer] I prefer not to give an exhaustive reply to that question. The time will come for it later. There is no doubt that discussion is possible and necessary. There are certainly a lot of topics and thoughts contained in the theses and proposals which are highly worth discussing, concerning the economy as well. Of course, any discussion whatsoever of the views contained in the abovementioned documents must be directed at uniting the supreme aims of the authorities and the community. The idea of politically tolerable "social agreement" can only become fact when support is rendered for the abovementioned unity and not by having two sides which are widely separated.

[Question] During the Sejm session of 21 July you gave an account of the discussion on the future of the trade union movement. What happens next?

[Answer] I believe we must take the next step in September. In my opinion, one should take another look at the bill on trade unions. I believe that a social coordinating committee which I mentioned in my speech will also be set up in September.

I think that important social, economic and political reasons are bringing the rebirth of the trade union movement in the eighties closer. It will not be and cannot be a movement built according to the conceptions, position and practices of the trade unions of the past decade. But neither can this be a union which follows in the steps of Solidarity which started the destruction of the political foundations of People's Poland. There will be no room for the Workers' Defense Committee [KOR], rightwing advisers and manipulators and their pupils in the reborn trade union movement.

[Question] A new phenomenon in Poland since 13 December, 1981 is the existence of an underground under the banner of Solidarity. It is generally known that activists of the suspended union such as Bujak, Frasnyniuk and others are conspiring and making themselves known by means of various declarations, appeals and so on. We learn from time to time about the existence of underground structures of Solidarity. Please could you comment on these facts.

[Answer] Conspiracy possesses rich traditions in our country. But, using the Nazi occupation as an example, this was a patriotic conspiracy directed against a foreign

state and aimed at regaining our own state which had been lost. The conspiracy organized by the abovementioned activists strikes a blow at the existing realities of the Polish state and seeks to undermine its foundations. As one can see, its organizers are knowledgeable pupils of Kuron, Michnik and other members of the Workers' Defense Committee who introduced the spirit of illegal battle into a legal organization long before 13 December. These people waged active battle against the political system in Poland and therefore against socialism. In this way they found themselves in conflict not only with the law, but with a multimillion-strong army of adherents of the socialist system.

In a world divided into capitalism and socialism, the choice which they have made is automatically pushing them into counterrevolution, whether they want it or not. This carries certain consequences with it.

[Question] What sort of consequences?

[Answer] Well, for example, the Solidarity activists we are talking about cannot be treated as partners in any talks whatsoever on the future of the trade union movement in Poland. It is also significant that their activity is burdening the entire organization, as well as delaying normalization, and may therefore upset plans to lift martial law.

[Question] The activists you are talking about declare in their speeches that have been printed in illegal writings and also in interviews given to Western newspapers that they enjoy the trust of the entire nation. But some of them are still announcing a general strike this year....

[Answer] To deal with the first matter, I believe that such swaggering declarations do not require further discussion. These activists are living in a world that they have conjured up. They are ignoring the fact that a process of settling accounts with the past has been going on within the Polish community ever since December and especially during the past few months. This process also involves relations with Solidarity. This is an inevitable process and one which life demands. In time, political isolation threatens the union's activists who are acting illegally and conspiratorially.

I do not think I will be wrong in saying that regardless of the number of people supporting the authorities' policy today and the number of those longing after Solidarity, most Poles want peace, law and order. For only under conditions like these can a better tomorrow for Poland be built. And that is why I believe conspiracy has no future in Poland.

[Question] But what if despite such logical statements people like Bujak, Frasyniuk and others do not cease their activity?

[Answer] Let us not overestimate these gentlemen's possibilities. The authorities are the authorities and they will use all the possibilities which the law gives them. If there are still Solidarity activists who believe that they might still be able to bring the authorities to their knees, which is what people tried to do before 13 December, then they are mistaken. In any case, they will not succeed in repeating these practices under General Jaruzelski's government.

[Question] The Spanish daily LA VANGUARDIA printed in its 3 August issue an interview with Bogdan Lis, one of the illegally active Solidarity people. Lis said "Walesa's stance after 13 December deserves recognition. Despite their expectations, the authorities have not managed to bend him. I hope that is how he remains to the end, giving an example to other internees of how to reject offers of emigration or collaboration." Mr Deputy Premier! What is the truth? Have you tried to "bend" Lech Walesa or is this only Lis' imagination?

[Answer] Bogdan Lis and others are trying to create the myth of an unyielding Walesa exposed to the sinister suggestions of the authorities. But I can say with all honesty that no government representative has undertaken any action against the chairman of the suspended union aimed at "breaking" him and so forth. Nor has any government representative suggested to him that he emigrate.

Thank you for the interview.

PAX BOARD RESOLUTION ON POLICY, TASKS 27 JULY

PM241045 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Jul 82 pp 1-2

["Resolution of the Board of the Pax Association" -- SLOWO POWSZECHNE headline; capitalized passages emphasized in original]

[Text] 1.

The Board of the Pax Association, debating in enlarged session at a meeting 27 July 1982, carried out an analysis and evaluation of the activity of the Presidium of the Board of the Pax Association since the previous meeting of the board 23 July this year. It has been confirmed that the decisions taken at that meeting were in their substance correct and that they enabled Pax to resume its activity in the new political circumstances. The board of the Pax Association asserts that the Board Presidium has created conditions permitting the reactivation of the work of all of the association's institutions, its local organization network, its press and publications section, and also for the continuation of the ZZG's economic activity. Of particular importance to the development of the movement is the resumption, after the necessary revision of the actual state of the member and candidate member cadre, of the formative, ideopolitical and organizational work in all 49 voivodship branches, as well as the establishment of more than 500 Pax Association circles in 326 localities throughout the country. The board has also assessed favourably the work of the Pax Deputies' Club whose members actively participate in the work of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]. On the basis of those elements the Board of the Pax Association states that a full reactivation of the work of the Pax Association has been effected, in accordance with the Board's resolution of 23 January this year.

The Board endorses the text of the ideopolitical declaration "At the Critical Moment" issued by the Board's Presidium 23 February 1982 and affirms that it offers a correct interpretation of the current situation in the light of the basic ideopolitical principles of our movement. The board regards as deserving particular emphasis the linking together of the entire ideological attainment of the 37 years of our movement, at whose core lies the idea of the triple commitment: ideologically Christian, patriotic and socialist, with the present tasks of restoring social calm and the normal rhythm of work together with expediting long-term political solutions based on the idea of national accord and rebirth.

In asserting the validity of that declaration the Board now wishes to draw attention to some of the most urgent and concrete tasks facing the movement.

2.

The Board of the Pax Association has, with profound concern, made an analysis of our country's socioeconomic situation, arriving at the conclusion that the gravity and the extent of the crises -- which is further aggravated by the consequences of the international economic sanctions -- endanger in a fundamental way the foundations of the existence of our nation, the prospects for our young generations and Poland's position among to other European nations. While emphasizing the stemming of the regression in certain basic sectors of the economy which has so far been achieved by the government, the board stated its conviction that the pace and scale of those measures are inadequate in the face of the extent of the crisis. The threat to the normal work rhythm of the whole nation demands further bold political, economic-organizational and cadre moves. Among these the following seem to be the most important and urgent:

A) Total and consistent implementation of the economic reform at all stages of the economy, with effective observance of its principles and its spirit, and with the imposition of personal penalties on those who are either inefficient or are consciously blocking that process;

B) the restoration of the proper role and status of socioeconomic planning as an essential instrument in the organization of the economic life of a socialist state;

C) the combination of the reform, together with the creation of favorable conditions for the proper organization of work, with a bold start on the road to the appointment of self-management bodies in workplaces (self-management bodies being an indispensable component of the workers' active participation in the management of their workplaces); furthermore, the authorization of the activity of self-governing trade unions, independent from the administration, which will recognize the principles of the socialist state system and will not assume the function of political organizations;

D) the speedy implementation of a reform of the earnings system which will show a socially intelligible correlation between earnings and the workers' motivation to better and more effective work;

E) protection of the economically weakest groups (especially families with many children) in accordance with the fundamental principles of social justice and the recognition of the high status of parenthood and the bringing up of children. This task requires a fundamental and urgent restructuring of our social policy, both central and local, and the participation of all social forces, including the church, in its realization;

F) an urgently necessary action against the increasing technological gap in many spheres of production. This necessitates a reconstruction of our own scientific and technical base;

G) the creation and continuous improvement of favourable conditions for the undisturbed long-range development of Polish agriculture in all its spheres, together with the development of authentic forms of rural self-management. In keeping with this aim it is necessary to guarantee the prospect of the development of privately owned farms;

H) the creation of favorable conditions for the development of all branches of small industries and services, and in particular of the craft industries.

The Board instructs the association's policy and organizational subdivisions to continue their active participation in the realization of the tasks described above. At the same time the Board expresses its firm belief that, along with effective work in the spheres of organization and economy, it is vitally necessary to create in the nation's social awareness a proper climate for the shaping of a moral order and the undertaking of the arduous work which is the only source of an improvement in our situation. Of great importance here can be the development of work motivation, embracing also the deepest ideological and patriotic sources of such motivation, and an active rejection of both the suicidal calls to sabotage work and the attempts to achieve a temporary improvement in the economy through moves which would be at variance with the essential moral and ideological aims of socialism as the system of social justice.

3.

Acting consistently with the points of the program contained in the declaration "At the Critical Moment," the Board of the Pax Association declares its support for a prompt realization of the idea of a national accord and for the creation of its concrete forms on the basis of the socialist system, with the aim of concentrating all of the nation's creative forces on the program for overcoming the crisis and creating new development prospects for Poland.

We adopt, as the arena of our action toward that goal, the "Declaration on the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth" issued 20 July this year by the PZPR, the ZSL, the SD, the Pax Association, the Christian Social Association and the Polish Catholic Social Union. The programmatic policies outlined in the "declaration" of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth correspond entirely to our understanding of the role of

such a movement: They define it as a wide-ranging and authentic social movement constituting a forum for coordinating the standpoints resulting from varying ideological inspirations and social objectives, a common arena for public consultations and political discussions, for the inspiration behind and control of the work of the apparatus of power and administration and the shaping of the citizens' political culture. Pax activists will cooperate in the formulation of a detailed program and the work forms of this movement, regarding it as an essential factor in the acceleration of stabilization and the move toward constructive work for an all-encompassing national rebirth.

The Board of the Pax Association accepts with approval the decisions announced to the Polish Sejm during its session of 21 July this year by the chairman of the Military Council of National Salvation, the premier, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, about the lifting of further restrictions resulting from the state of martial law, and in particular the release of a large number of internees, including all women internees. We also take it as a confirmation of the validity of our stand, defined in our declaration "At the Critical Moment," in which we have stated: "The sooner a stabilization of life in our country and an easing of the existing tensions come about, the earlier the conditions will arise for putting an end to martial law and tackling a bold program of socialist renewal." The premier's forecast of the possibility of a suspension of martial law before the end of the year is another important step in that direction and should mobilize all constructive social forces to work for social concord and national accord. We believe this is the only way for Poland.

In this context we note with anxiety that, despite the progressive stabilization of the atmosphere and strengthening of social calm, in some circles there still persists a confusion of opinions and stances ranging from apathy and resignation to the symptoms of feverish activity concentrating on ideas of conspiracy or even on preparations for a new confrontation with the system and with the authorities. The effective countering of such tendencies requires above all that the following be stressed:

A) The statement announcing no return to the situation existing either before December 1981 or before August 1980 cannot regarded otherwise than as a single entity -- if we want it truly to assist the accord. Those who want to restore the situation existing before December 1981 are not acting for the furthering of democratization but are in effect supporting the advocates of a return to the old methods of ruling society without society's participation;

B) the diversity of political attitudes does not permit anyone today to assume that he alone represents the views of the entire public opinion in Poland. In view of the superimposition of the influences of the international confrontation between the two camps on Poland's internal conflicts, and also in view of the conscious activity of the antisocialist opposition, the accord -- if it is not to be merely a short-lived and artificial compromise of opposing forces -- must be a broad process of the restoration of the manifold ties and dialogue between the authorities and society at all levels. A reconstruction of the old organizations suspended in the first stage of martial law, based on the recognition of the demands of the system and of the Polish raison d'etat, together with the building of new structures which will express the needs and the opinions of the varying social groups, is today a patriotic demand of the moment and a precondition of the feasibility of the idea of accord. An attitude of rejection, of creating a state of vacuum between the authorities and society, can in effect only cause the moment of the predicted suspension, or repeal, of martial law to be postponed;

C) we believe that it is the demand of the present time to maintain a high level of activity among all people and in all organizations engaged in public work. We are aware that this activity is not always and everywhere accepted by the authorities and that there are cases of administrative moves "from above" which stimulate social activity through a system of nomination-and-transmission [system nominacyjno-transmisyjny]. These are harmful tendencies and they must be firmly countered. But it must also be remembered that it is not possible to counter effectively the tendency to indulge in

histronics or to restrict the authenticity of the life of a society -- especially in such difficult circumstances -- without a vigorous action, from genuine social activists, against these harmful tendencies. This is why we consider the creation of the climate of social activity to be one of our primary tasks;

D) We have from the beginning expressed the opinion that the idea of a patriotic movement of national accord must concentrate around the greater aim of NATIONAL REBIRTH, and so it must outline the perspectives and design the mechanisms for overcoming the political, economic and moral crisis and for building a socialist Poland that will guarantee society's active and equal [podmiotowy] participation in the governing of the country. Without such clearly defined perspectives a radical change in social attitudes, or a general mobilization to creative work, would not be possible. A crucial chance of setting this process in motion seems to be offered by the idea of SELF-MANAGEMENT, both in the shape of self-management bodies in workplaces and territorial self-management units. The Board of the Pax Association attaches great importance to the participation of our activists in the work to establish and develop the forms of socialist self-management.

E) The creation of a new partnership between the authorities and society necessitates also, in our opinion, the development -- forcefully emphasized by the first secretary and premier, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski -- of the COALITION CHARACTER OF THE OFFICIAL RULING AUTHORITY, with an acknowledgement of the politically leading role of the party in our state. We welcome and approve the emerging tendency to expand this formula, with an emphasis on the role of the social movement of lay Catholics, which was expressed, among other things, in the participation of a representative of our movement in the work of the commission for cooperation between the party and the political associations, and also in the work of the government. Constituting a group of an ideopolitical character, Pax is the author of the ideology of the Catholic left in Poland, the ideology in which a central place is given to the postulate claiming the multi-ideological nature of the socialist state, as voiced by us consistently throughout the whole history of People's Poland. Voicing also today the aspirations of those lay Catholics who attach importance to the inspiration which their world view brings to the public life of People's Poland, Pax will support this perspective, regarding it as a principal element fostering the development of socialist thought and as a significant factor in the sociopolitical integration which is a prerequisite of the realization of the renewal program.

The Board of the Pax Association is convinced that it is precisely through the realization of all the above-outlined sociopolitical tasks that the precipitation of the moment of the lifting of martial law, and of the normalization of everyday life essential for us to embark on the tasks of the program of an all-encompassing national rebirth, can be brought about. We will support these lines of development through our work.

4.

The Board of the Pax Association emphasizes with great respect the creative and constructive role of the church in Poland in the cause of strengthening social accord, striving for national accord and conciliation and continuing the patriotic program of the late Cardinal S. Wyszynski, "primate of the millenium." This position is continually expressed by Archbishop J. Glemp, primate of Poland, in his public utterances. It combines the demands of the Polish raison d'etat with the performance of the church's unalterable tasks, those of building a moral order and fostering peace, of calling for the observance of the rights of man and the humanitarian principle in all social conflicts. The Board expresses its conviction that this view [of the church] cannot be undermined by the attempts at exploiting the authority of the church on the part of groups opposed to the system who seek refuge in the church for their political activities. It must, however, be stressed that the church in Poland -- continuing, in accordance with its mission, to be an institution above all politics, and standing at one with the nation thanks to its wide-ranging social influence -- works within the nation, consistently impelling it to reject the way of revenge and retaliation in favor of social accord and peace. It should also be stated with satisfaction that the isolated manifestations of

prejudice against the church do not find support in the mainstream policy of the central authorities who aim at a dialogue with the church and express their understanding of and respect for its mission and their appreciation of its work in the spirit of peace, accord and moral order.

It is necessary not only to give assistance in this work but, in keeping with the right and the duty of the layman within the church, to search for concrete political ways to realize the idea of accord and of the introduction of a moral order, true to the spirit of the gospels, into the social life of the country. The Pax Association, acting in keeping with the social teaching of the church and remaining in dialogue and cooperation with the hierarchy and the clergy, desires to continue to fulfill this task.

The Polish public has listened attentively to the announcement by the premier, Gen W. Jaruzelski, of the authorities' wish to receive the visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland with due decorum, in conditions of social calm and order. The decisions made in this matter by the representatives of the Apostolic See, the Polish Episcopate and the authorities of the Polish People's Republic are proof of the existence of a mutual understanding and of a will to conduct a dialogue and reach agreement. This is of great significance for the social climate in our country.

We continue in the hope that the normalization which is taking place will allow us as soon as possible and in a manner worthy of our nation to recieve the holy father, who wishes to arrive in the fatherland on his second apostolic pilgrimage in connection with the 600th anniversary, which is of great moral and spiritual importance for the entire nation, of the presence of our Lady at Jasna Gora. We wish that visit both to become an occasion for the consolidation of the Polish people around the issue of moral renewal that will in consequence mean a social and political renewal matching the scale of the present need, and to take place in the spirit of the continuing harmonious cooperation of church and state, of society and the authorities.

5.

The Board of the Pax Association expresses its profound concern about the steady deterioration in the international situation which endangers all the achievements of the period of detente, fans the fires of local conflicts and leads the world toward the menace of war. The fundamental sources of this tension lie in America's aggressive new policy which aims at achieving military advantage over the USSR and the other socialist countries and at aggravating internal difficulties in those countries through a policy of psychological subversion, the fomenting of anxieties and economic blockade.

It is a contemporary test of the Polish People's political wisdom and national instinct not to allow the frontline of this confrontation imposed upon the socialist countries to run inside Poland, threatening our country with tragic consequences. In view of the worldwide and increasingly sharply outlined divisions between the capitalist and the socialist worlds it is urgently necessary for all realistically minded Poles to reach an understanding on the common ground of the basic principles of the Polish school of patriotic thought. Responsible Polish political thought must today be especially aware of the fact that the future of Poland, the protection of its biological and spiritual potential, its territorial integrity and the inviolability of its borders, its international security and the feasibility of its emergence from the present profound crisis are most closely tied up with its having a permanent and significant place in the community of socialist countries and with the constant strengthening of its alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

6.

The consistent stance in defense of peace on the part of the Apostolic See and, personally, of the Polish pope, John Paul II, constitutes a weighty factor of international support for the forces which oppose the propelling of the world toward a new war. Both the message of peace preached by the pilgrim pope in various countries of the world,

notwithstanding their political system or political leaning, and the concrete actions of the Apostolic See in the international forum carry a great moral and, indirectly, political significance in their strengthening of an endangered world peace.

The Board of the Pax Association expresses its opinion that lay Catholics active in public life ought particularly to concern themselves with work toward increasing the influence of the inspiration of the Catholic ideology on all action for the defense of peace, for detente and for disarmament. The Board enjoins the Presidium to undertake work toward this goal in the association's activity at home and abroad.

7.

The Board of the Pax Association calls on all members and candidate members of our movement, all organizational units and Pax organs, as well as the wide supporting cast of Pax sympathizers, to take up active participation in the social and political life -- now being reborn -- of our country, in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. Particularly, the newly formed Pax Association circles should combine work on the ideological integration of our cadre within the framework of Pax' ideopolitical doctrine with concrete social, programmatic and political activity within their areas in cooperation with all those sociopolitical forces which aim at achieving mutual agreement and formulating a program for national rebirth.

The increasing opportunities for Pax' political influence are inextricably bound up with our increasing coresponsibility for the course of public affairs in our country. This necessitates a further organizational expansion of Pax, extending its membership ranks with new valuable activists who will wish to take an active part in these processes, combining the inspiration of the Catholic ideology with patriotic principles and with the idea of an evolving socialism. Our political clubs, our theoretical and practical activity and our ranks stand wide open to all new people who want to act, and in particular to the young, to those representing science and culture, to their thoughts and suggestions.

After a period of reconstruction and restoration Pax, the social movement of lay Catholics, is now entering a new stage of its development, conscious of its special responsibility and of the special place it occupied in history, in the present day and in the future of social Catholicism in People's Poland.

[Signed] The Board of the Pax Association

Warsaw, 27 July 1982

REPORTAGE ON ECONOMIC COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES

Potato Prices Fixed

LD252236 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Countering the trends toward high prices for the procurement of potatoes, in order to protect retail prices, the Council of Ministers Economic Committee Presidium has fixed prices for this agricultural produce. From 6 September through 10 October up to Z650 will be paid for a quintal of industrial potatoes and up to Z100 for a quintal of edible potatoes. This concerns regions with a poor harvest; elsewhere the prices are up to Z600 and Z900 respectively. From 11 October these prices will be Z200 lower.

This decision is incumbent on all procurement points of socialized organizations and all socialized procurers, including works enterprises which buy directly from the producers. The minister of price affairs has been instructed to introduce regulated prices for edible potatoes. It is necessary to ensure absolute priority in the procurement of potatoes for supplying the market. The binding principle was also adopted whereby in September all potatoes suitable for consumption, including those procured outside the network of parish cooperatives, will be earmarked above all for supplying the large urban conglomerations.

Regional Rationing To End

LD252100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] The Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers has decided to put voivodas and the mayors of the voivodship capital cities under the obligation to abolish beginning 1 September all regional forms of rationing of goods in short supply, including sales against certificates [sprzedarz na zaswiadczenia], identity cards and so forth. The Economic Committee ordered at the same time that they scrupulously observe the central system of goods' rationing currently in force both concerning prescribed quantities and substitutes. At the same time it was decided to allow such forms of controlled sales in the voivodships as the sales based on the coupon system but only if it is in accordance with the principles laid down by the minister of domestic trade and services.

REPORTAGE ON GRAIN PROCUREMENT SITUATION

Domestic Supplies

LD251756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] The rate of grain procurement has slackened recently. Farmers are currently delivering 50-60,000 tons of grain daily to parish cooperative storehouses and state grain enterprises: This is 50 percent less than at the beginning of August. As of today, procurement centers have received just over 2 million tons of grain. The grain procurement plan has been implemented by only 40 percent taking into account the country's needs and the limited import possibilities, the economy needs another 3 million tons of grain.

Grain deliveries still vary greatly among individual voivodships, despite the good yields. In six voivodships -- Bydgoszcz, Opole, Wroclaw, Poznan, Szczecin and Olsztyn -- more than 75,000 tons of grain have been procured, that is more than one-third of the amount supplied by farmers from throughout the country. Grain procurement is worst in Siedlce, Lomza, Kielce, Ostroleka and Piotrkow voivodships. In these regions, farmers have supplied 3,000-10,000 tons of grain. This is not even enough to cover local allocations for flour and groats and for the bakeries' requirements. In parish cooperatives there is on the whole no shortage of fodder and coal, which are sold to farmers supplying grain. There should be no shortage of them in September either.

Latin American Grain

LD260728 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1510 GMT 24 Aug 82

[Text] The M.S. Siekierki has begun loading ground grain in the Brasilian port of Rio Grande. This indicates the resumption of the so-called grain bridge between Poland and Latin America. More vessels from Szczecin are approaching Rio Grande. These are the General Bem, the General Jasinski and the General Swierczewski. The contract provides for 150,000 tons of grain, ground grain and fodder components. The scope of the contract is not very large, but that is all we can afford at the moment.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON CRIMEAN TALKS

LD260904 Warsaw PAP in English 0718 GMT 26 Aug 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Aug -- "The states of our community have condemned decisively the policy of fomenting tension between the East and the West and the use of dictate, sanctions and discrimination by the United States and some NATO countries against other sovereign states," the Polish party daily TRYBUNA LUDU said today, discussing the outcome of the Crimean meetings of socialist leaders.

"In the Crimea, they clearly pointed to the imperialist forces which aim at hindering the Polish nation and state in coming (?out of) crisis as well as causing internal destabilization in our country and thus jeopardising stability in the [words indistinct] of Europe.

"The days and weeks which have passed since the Crimean talks of the leaders of socialist states have fully confirmed the correctness of their analysis of the international situation and indispensability of the efforts at curing it and arresting the (?American) policy of confrontation.

"The Crimean talks of the leaders of brotherly countries have once again demonstrated to the international opinion that the states of our community are the mainstay of peace in the world," stated TRYBUNA LUDU.

U.S., PZPR ORGAN JOURNALISTS LOSE ACCREDITATIONS

Envoy Protests U.S. Move

LD251218 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] According to PAP, yesterday at the State Department in Washington, Poland's charge d'affaires in the United States, Zdzislaw Ludwiczak, was informed that as of yesterday the State Department has suspended the accreditation of the TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent in the United States, Wlodzimierz Lozinski.

It was explained that this decision was made in connection with the suspension in Warsaw of the Press accreditation of THE NEW YORK TIMES correspondent. Zdzislaw Ludwiczak protested the decision, stating that the two matters cannot be compared, as the American correspondent (?acted) in a country in which martial law regulations are in force. In any case, he is not allowed to breach journalist's ethics or to pass unverified information that can cause tension in bilateral relations.

U.S. Journalist Reinstated

LD251726 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] As PAP has learned on 20 August at the Foreign Ministry Department of Press, Cultural and Scientific Cooperation a talk was held with Warsaw correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, John Darnton. Consequently John Darnton had his card of accreditation temporarily suspended in connection with the correspondent's reports from Poland which containedfalse and unverified information.

Yesterday John Darnton was informed that his card of accreditation would be returned the next day which in fact has happened at the time announced. Together with the return of the card, the U.S. correspondent has been given a serious warning.

PRESS CRITICIZES U.S. FOREIGN, DEFENSE POLICY

Discrepancies in U.S. Policy

AU251100 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21-22 Aug 82 p 2

[Stez commentary: "Hypocritical Declarations and Familiar Practice"]

[Text] Mr Alan Romberg, deputy spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, said among other things at the 17 August briefing:

"The events of the past 2 years have demonstrated that the Poles are fully capable of thinking for themselves and need no outside inspiration. From the very beginning of the United States has consistently stuck to the principle that Poland's problems must be solved by the Poles themselves in a peaceful manner, without any kind of force...."

It is rare for a representative of the U.S. Government to make a statement under which, just as convinced of its truth, we could almost affix our signature. We certainly think that we Poles are fully capable of thinking for ourselves and that we need no outside inspiration, especially that emanating from the VOA, Radio Free Europe and other stations and sources. We are also convinced that the Poles must themselves solve Poland's problems, without using any kind of force....

On the other hand, we were astonished to hear that the U.S. Government takes the same view. If it does, then why are the radio stations financed and controlled by it always continuing to inspire, instruct and incite us to demonstrate and come out against martial law? Why is it precisely the U.S. Government that is exerting unprecedented pressure on Poland with the help of economic sanctions and is trying to force us to solve our internal problems in the manner it prescribes?

These rhetorical questions show that, although the theses formulated by Mr Romberg are most correct, the U.S. Government's specific actions are in glaring conflict with them. Contrary to his words, the U.S. Government not only does not "consistently" stick to the theses he put forward, but conducts itself in precisely the opposite manner.

We are criticizing this conduct in very severe terms, not so much because Washington is inconsistent -- after all, inconsistency is Washington's private affair -- but primarily because such a U.S. policy is inflicting painful losses on our economy and thus on all our people. At the same time, it is delaying the necessary process of political stabilization and of lifting the country out of its crisis. It goes without saying that such a course of events is bound to make us protest.

If only Mr Romberg could be taken at his word. If only, on the basis of his statement, it were possible to ask Washington to let us solve the problems of our country without brutal outside pressure, without U.S. sanctions and without forcible solutions dictated by Washington.

These are solutions that no one will be able to force on Poland one way or another. They are merely a pretext for the political and propaganda campaign serving the aims of U.S. policy worldwide...

This is precisely the reason why the declarations made at the State Department briefing are not at all reflected in Washington's actual policy. They have nothing in common even with the intentions of this policy, whose victims are the Polish economy, Polish society and Poland.

U.S. Nuclear Concept Viewed

AU241234 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Aug 82 p 2

[Stefan Zielicz commentary: "We Are the Target of Their Missiles...."]

[Text] The plans for "a 6-month exchange of nuclear blows" with the Soviet Union, which were disclosed by THE LOS ANGELES TIMES as a secret study that had been received by the U.S. National Security Council, have greatly disturbed the world public.

Of course, the Pentagon's plans for a nuclear war are nothing new. Even the notorious "Directive 59", which was drawn up during Jimmy Carter's presidency, provided for a so-called limited nuclear war, which gave rise to the protests of the people of good will in the United States itself and throughout the world. It was pointed out at that time that "Directive 59" was a dangerous measure leading to a worldwide nuclear catastrophe, which would also claim as victims the U.S. people, although the Pentagon planned to "limit" the nuclear strike to the TDW [Teatr Dzialan Wojennyoh -- Theater of War Operations] in Europe. Now the Pentagon generals seem to be entertaining the illusion that it is possible to win a nuclear war which would continue for a number of months and in which they are ready to use the entire deadly potential in their possession.

These illusions are dangerous and horrible for the entire world and are no doubt related to the plans to strike the first nuclear blow against the Warsaw Pact states. It is true that such a blow would not give victory to the aggressor because it is impossible to destroy the Soviet potential with a single blow that would prevent retaliation. Nevertheless, such a blow would unleash a terrible catastrophe, which would threaten the complete destruction of the biological conditions for the existence of man throughout the world or at least in North America and in Europe.

It is simply hard to believe that the experts who have produced the study in question for the National Security Council are not aware of that. It is also hard to surmise why such illusions, which are dangerous for all mankind, have been spread. However, the aims motivating the authors of the U.S. doctrine of nuclear war are a secondary issue of the face of the danger that this doctrine poses for the entire world and for us, perhaps primarily for us.

After all, we know that a considerable part of the U.S. missiles loaded with nuclear charges is always targeted against objectives in Poland. There are many more than enough of these charges to turn our country into an uninhabited desert, even though, of course, there are not enough of them to destroy all the Soviet nuclear missile pads and thereby the potential of retaliation against possible U.S. aggressors. We know that it is precisely this possibility for retaliation that is the main reason why the Pentagon generals continue to refrain from using nuclear weapons in order to settle every successive political crisis to their advantage. However, it seems that they still refuse to abandon their temptation to use nuclear weapons and to do what the Soviet Union has done: To voluntarily renounce the first nuclear blow.

The Pentagon's new strategic plan that assumes that a prolonged nuclear war can be won and that provides for getting the necessary nuclear potential in the United States ready now adds enormously to the danger hanging over Europe, America, and the world for dozens and dozens of years.

And, what is most important, hanging over Poland.

In a commentary published by TU I TERAZ [HERE AND NOW] Jerzy Urban wrote:

"...Generally people do not remember that we are a target as a country and people and that this is a crucial political fact...."

Yet another ominous Pentagon plan for a nuclear war has perhaps driven this truth home with regard to those who really do not remember that fact.

LEADERS GREET ROMANIA, PRK, DPRK COUNTERPARTS

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Greeted

AU250946 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 82 p 1

[Greetings message from Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and president of the Council of Ministers, and Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, to Romanian counterparts on Romanian national day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, premier of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in Bucharest:

On the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Romania's liberation, we send on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the Council of State and the Government of the Polish People's Republic sincere greetings to the RCP Central Committee, the Council of State and Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the fraternal Romanian people.

Under the leadership of the RCP, Socialist Romania has carried out many transformations on the way to a comprehensive development of the country. Forming a permanent part of the fraternal community of socialist states, it has taken its rightful place in the international community.

You are developing successfully on the basis of the traditional friendship and the alliance which join both states; Polish-Romanian relations well serve the interests of both countries and peoples in all areas of life. Within the unshakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, Poland and Romania are making their contribution to strengthening socialism, progress and peace in the world.

On the occasion of your national day, we send you our best wishes that you may successfully implement the resolutions of the 12th RCP Congress and that you may make further achievements on the way to developing Socialist Romania.

[Signed] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and president of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic; Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic

Heng Samrin, Chan Si Greeted

BK241540 Phnom Penh Domestic Service in Cambodian 1300 GMT 22 Aug 82

[Text] Recently, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, sent a message of thanks to Comrade Heng Samrin, secretary general of the KPRP [Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State; and Comrade Chan Si, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRK, [People's Republic of Kampuchea] for their greetings on the 38th national day of Poland.

The message said, among other things:

On behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, Council of State, Government and people of Poland, and in my own name, I would like to express our sincere thanks for the good wishes you sent us on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of Poland's revival. We would like to affirm that under the leadership of the PZPR, the Polish people vigorously strive to build up socialism inside the country, and Poland will remain an important part of the socialist movement in the world.

The relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation which have been expanded and strengthened between Poland and Kampuchea have been gladly supported by the Polish people. The people of Poland will always support the efforts of the Kampuchean people to strengthen the people's fatherland and achieve genuine peace.

We wish you great successes in building a socialist Kampuchean state.

DPRK's Kim Il Thanked

SK210356 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0350 GMT 21 Aug 82

[Text] Pyongyang August 21 (KCNA) -- The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and president of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, received a message from Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish Peoples Republic, and Henryk Jablonski, president of the State Council of the Polish Peoples Republic, in reply to his message of greetings sent to them on the occassion of the 38th anniversary of the resurrection of Poland.

The reply message dated August 12 reads:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Polish Peoples Republic and the Polish people and on our own, we extend heartfelt thanks to you and, through you, to the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea, the Government of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea and the Korean people for your good wishes and solidarity expressed on the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the resurrection of Poland.

The partys unity with the patriotic forces of the Polish people and Polands strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries make it possible to carry out the historic task of defending the peoples country from the intrigues and manoeuvres of imperialism and achieve the further development of socialist Poland, overcoming difficulties created at home.

The overall strengthening and development of relations between Poland and Korea will be conducive to deepening the friendship between our two peoples and to preserving world peace.

GREEK PARTY OFFICIALS ARRIVE FOR TALKS

Jaruzelski Receives Florakis

LD231756 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 23 Aug 82

[Text] Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, has arrived in Poland at the invitatin of the PZPR Central Committee.

On the first day of his visit he was received by Central Committee first secretary Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Kharilaos Florakis informed each other about the situation in their parties and countries. Views were exchanged on the international situation and on interparty cooperation.

Miroslaw Milewski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, participated in the talks.

Talks Held

LD242254 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 24 Aug 82

[Text] Warsaw 24 Aug -- Polish-Greek Party Talks -- Plenary talks were held in the PUWP CC on the second day of the visit paid to Poland by Kharilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, in which the Polish side was represented by alternate members of the Political Bureau and CC secretaries: Jan Glowczyk and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and the head of the CC Foreign Department, Wlodzimierz Natorf. The sides discussed problems of internal, ideological and propaganda work of the PUWP.

Earlier in the day Kharilaos Florakis was guest of the Warsaw party organization.

Florakis Meets Wozniak

LD252046 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Yesterday, on the second day of his visit to Poland, the secretary general of the Greek Communist Party [words indistinct] was hosted by the Warsaw party organization. Marian Wozniak, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee informed him about the socioeconomic situation in the country.

On the same day Kharilaos Florakis met employees of the October Revolution Printing Works in Warsaw. The subject of the conversation was the problems of the professionals and social living conditions of Polish workers. In the afternoon the Greek guest held talks at the Central Committee, where problems of PZPR work were discussed.

Wroclaw Visit

LD251804 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee, who is visiting Poland, has been in Wroclaw today. He had a meeting there with Tadeusz-Porebski, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, and with members of the Executive Council of the Voivodship Committee, who informed him about the activity of the voivodship party organization. The secretary general of the Greek Communist Party Central Committee was also the guest of the Union of Greek Political Refugees in Poland.

COAL MINING PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LD260218 Warsaw PAP in English 1417 GMT 26 Aug 82

[Text] Mining Cooperation With CSSR -- Warsaw 25 Aug -- A joint protocol covering many aspects of cooperation in the field of hard and brown coalmining and the power industry was signed here yesterday at the end of a two-day visit of the Czechoslovak minister for the fuel and power industry, Vlastimil Ehrenberger, (?who came) to Poland at the invitation of the Polish minister for coalmining and the power industry, General Czeslaw Piotrowski. The ministers laid down a programme for coproduction and manufacture of machinery and mining equipment and defined the volume of Polish hard coal exports to Czechoslovakia.

Talking to a PAP reporter at the end of the visit, the visiting minister referred to the fruitful cooperation between the mining and power industries of Poland and Czechoslovakia and laid emphasis on continued close cooperation and the widening of bilateral cooperation relating to mining machinery industry and mechanization of mining to cover multilateral efforts within the framework of the CMEA countries' permanent commission for the coalmining industry.

BRIEFS

POLISH-BALTIC STEAMSHIP COMPANY -- Warsaw, 21 Aug (PAP) -- The decision concerning the dismantling of the Polish-Baltic Steamship Company [PZB] has been withdrawn. A decision has been taken concerning the further activity of this enterprise. The deficit of Z650 million -- which was noted at the beginning of the current year -- has been covered by a Polish national bank credit of Z400 million and a credit of Z200 million given by the Polish Steamship Company [PZM]. The Szczecin shipowner has given the Kolobrzeg enterprise [PZB] even further aid. It will finance the purchase in Bulgaria of 10 coastal vessels [kabotazowiec] and it is putting its warehouses at the disposal of the Kolobrzeg shipowner. [Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Aug 82 LD]

ORDER CONFERRED ON HONECKER TO MARK BIRTHDAY

Ceausescu Sends Telegram

AU250657 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] By a presidential decree signed by President Nocolae Ceausescu, the Star of the Socialist Republic of Romania, first class with sash was awarded to Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee and president of the GDR State Council, on the occasion of his 70th birthday and for his contribution to developing the cooperation between the two parties, countries and peoples, and to promoting the general cause of international socialism, peace and cooperation. On the same occasion, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu sent Comrade Erich Honecker a congratulatory telegram.

SCINTEIA Pays Homage

AU251120 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 25 Aug 82

["Erich Honecker Is 70" -- AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/8/82 -- On August 25, Bucharest newspaper "SCINTEIA" carries a homage-paying article devoted to the personality of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, on his 70th birthday, stressing that the tested revolutionary, the outstanding militant of the international communist and working class movement put his life at the service of his people's interests and aspirations, of the thriving and ever stronger assertion of the German Democratic Republic -- the first state of workers and peasants on German land -- at the service of socialism and peace. The newspaper highlights that in the spirit of the feelings of friendship and esteem nurtured for the people of the GDR, for the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the communists, the people of Romania enjoy gladly this anniversary, these feelings being expressed in the message Nicolae Ceausescu addressed to Erich Honecker, and by the fact that the high Romanian order "Star of the Socialist Republic of Romania" first class, and sash, was conferred on the general secretary of the CC of the SUPG, the chairman of the Council of State of the GDR.

After presenting extensive biographical data shaping the personality of Erich Honecker, the newspaper reads:

The jubilee celebrated today is a fortunate occasion for us to evoke the ties of lasting friendship and collaboration existing between our parties, countries and peoples, ties that are stimulated by the traditions of solidarity between the Romanian proletariat and the German one, between their progressive, revolutionary forces in the struggle against reactionary forces and fascism, against exploitation, for freedom and progress, ties that have been taken to a new, higher quality stage over the years of construction of the new system.

These fruitful relations develop continuously in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance signed in 1972, of the declarations signed at highest level in 1977 and 1980, during the Berlin and Bucharest interviews, documents that set the mutual collaboration on lasting grounds, on the principles of fully equal rights, observance of the national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs, mutual advantage and comradely mutual help, that are characteristic of our ties in general.

The two countries' leading political parties -- the RCP and the SUPG -- through the ties of solidarity between them, are the meritorious architects of the collaboration between our countries and peoples. A contribution of exceptional importance in the field has been made by the Bucharest and Berlin talks between Nicolae Ceausescu and Erich Honecker, that through the adopted documents and the decisions made opened new, ample and fertile prospects to this collaboration.

A reason of deep-going satisfaction, the newspaper reads, is the fact that the agreements reached at summit level are implemented successfully, ensuring a deepening and expansion of the collaboration on most varied planes -- political, economic, technical, scientific, cultural, in all the other domains of mutual interest.

Special impetus has been gained by the economic collaboration, the GDR holding constantly a leading position in Romania's foreign exchanges. Over the last decade the volume of mutual deliveries went up nearly four fold. Stipulations for the present quinquennium mention a new (40 percent) rise in these exchanges. At the same time, the industrial, technological, scientific and cultural cooperation expands and diversifies. Also diversifying are the contacts at various levels, on a party and state line, between mass and civic organizations, the exchanges of experience in the most varied domains of the socialist construction, all these contributing to better mutual knowledge of the two peoples, to the strengthening of the friendship among them.

The rich image of the collaboration between Romania and the GDR, "SCINTEIA" writes in conclusion, is completed by the collaboration in the field of international life against the imperialist policy, for the implementation of disarmament, the democratization of the interstate relations, for finding negotiated solutions to conflicts, for building a lasting system of security on our continent, for peace and progress in Europe and worldwide.

PARTY-STATE LEADERS ATTEND 23 AUGUST RECEPTION

AU241016 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Aug 82 p 1

[Text] The RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania gave a reception on the evening of 22 August at the Victoria Square Palace, in honor of 23 August, the national anniversary of the Romanian people. The state anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was played upon the arrival at the reception hall of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Comrade Elena Ceausescu and the other members of the party-state leadership.

The reception was attended by comrades Constantin Dascalescu, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Ion Dinca, Ludovic Fazekas, Alesandrina Gainuse, Petre Lupu, Paul Niculescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Ilie Verdet, Stefan Voitec, Stefan Andrei, Emilian Dobrescu, Miu Dobrescu, Petru Enache, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Suzana Gadea, Ana Muresan, Elena Nae, Constantin Olteanu, Cornel Onescu, Ion Ursu, Richard Winter, Marin Enache, Gheorghe Stoica, members of the RCP Central Committee, of the State Council and the government, party members from the underground period, participants in the revolution for antifascist and anti-imperialist social and national liberation of August 1944, veterans of the anti-Hitlerite war, leaders of mass and civic organizations, generals, heroes of socialist labor, men of art and culture, heads of religious denominations, and journalists.

Also present were foreign guests invited to attend the events marking the Romanian people's national anniversary.

Also present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to our country, military attaches and other members of the diplomatic corps.

During the reception, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu talked cordially with the foreign guests. The reception proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES GREETINGS ON NATIONAL DAY

From Kim Il-song

AU260840 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA 23 Aug 82 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

On the 38th anniversary of Romania's anti-imperialist, antifascist, national and social liberation revolution, I would like to extend, on behalf of the Korean Workers Party [KWP], Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Korean people and on my behalf, warmest congratulations and cordial comradely greetings to you, the RCP Central Committee, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the fraternal Romanian people.

After the victory in the revolution and through the struggle full of sacrifices waged by the Romanian communists and patriots, your country's people opened up a new stage in building a new life and achieving national progress on Romania, the soil of a backward country in the past.

The Korean people are rejoicing, from the bottom of their hearts, at the important successes achieved by the Romanian people -- who favor independence -- under the leadership of the RCP headed by you, in their struggle for building the comprehensively developed socialist society, and express their firm solidarity with the efforts you are making to ensure peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

The Korean and Romanian peoples have established lasting relations of friendship in their joint struggle for the victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

I am convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries and peoples will continue to expand and develop in the spirit of the understandings agreed upon during the very important meetings with you in Pyongyang in April this year, and in the spirit of the joint declaration published on that occasion.

I want to take this opportunity to sincerely wish you and your people successes in implementing the 12th RCP Congress decisions.

[Signed] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the KWP Central Committee and DPRK president.

From PRC Leaders

AU260836 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Aug 82 p 7

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest:

On the 38th anniversary of Romania's liberation, on behalf of the CPC, the Chinese Government and people and on our behalf, we want to extend warmest congratulations to you and through you to the RCP, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the fraternal Romanian people, together with feelings of our highest esteem.

Being consistent in promoting the principles of independence and sovereignty and progressing with determined steps along the road of socialism, Romania experienced strong development in all fields of socialist construction. From the bottom of our hearts we wish the heroic Romanian people under the firm leadership of the RCP headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu new and increasingly greater successes in their work and struggle for implementing the great program set forth by the 12th RCP Congress.

A great friendship has been established and has developed between the Chinese and Romanian parties, countries and peoples in their joint work of building socialism and in their common struggle against imperialism and for safeguarding world peace. We are deeply convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Romania, which have withstood hardships for a long time, will surely strengthen and consolidate in the future as well.

[Signed] Hu Yaobang, chairman of the CPC Central Committee; Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the PRC, and Zhao Ziyang, premier of the State Council of the PRC.

STAMBOLIC CONTINUES VISIT TO CYPRUS 26 AUG

LD252212 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2106 GMT 25 Aug 82

["Pool" item]

[Text] Nicosia, Aug 25 (TANJUG) -- Cypriot President Spiros Kiprianou stated today that thanks to "its immense moral and political strength" the movement of the nonaligned succeeded in holding out and "becoming a decisive factor in international relations."

President Kiprianou stated this unveiling in the main square in Nicosia a memorial slab to leaders of Yugoslavia and Cyprus and the nonaligned, to Presidents Tito and Makarios. The memorial slab was unveiled in presence of President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Petar Stambolic, now on an official visit to Cyprus. The president of Cyprus emphasized that "Tito is one of the greatest friends of Cyprus, one of the greatest figures of our epoch", underlining that Tito and Makarios are "great men who laid foundations to the Nonaligned Movement which now covers a majority of countries and liberation movements in the world."

The president of the Presidency of Yugoslav said that in "the present crisis of international relations we, nonaligned countries are being encouraged by the fact that awareness that the policy of nonalignment, its aims and authentic principles are a vital political and moral strength, capable of contributing to overcoming of bloc barriers and other divisions in order to make a substantial turn so much necessary to all, is spreading also with many countries out of the movement".

The City Council of Nicosia today presented a golden plaque of the city to President Stambolic. Mayor of Nicosia Lelos Dimitriadis said that the plaque is given to "a highly significant personality, associate who continues Tito's work, to the President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Petar Stambolic".

Thanking the citizens of Nicosia for the honours extended to him, Stambolic said he hoped that "the present division of Nicosia will be overcome through a just and lasting solution of the Cypriot problem", and that "this beautiful city will again become the capital of a common state, for the well-being and prosperity of all Cypriots".

President Kiprianou today gave luncheon in honor of Petar Stambolic. Stambolic also visited the nearby (?Palace) of Troni where he laid a wreath on the grave of President Makarios.

STATE, PARTY LEADERS GREET HONECKER ON BIRTHDAY

Stambolic Cables Message

LD252324 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0944 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (TANJUG) -- On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, Petar Stambolic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, a telegram with cordial congratulations on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

Ribicic Sends Regards

LD252322 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Aug (TANJUG) -- President of the LCY Central Committee Presidium Mitja Ribicic has sent cordial congratulations and best wishes to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

FORMER SLOVENE CC MEMBER'S KOSOVO LETTER SCORED

AU251532 [Editorial Report] Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1651 on 22 August on pages 2, 3, 6, 10, 14, 15 and 18 carries, in its "Letters to the Editor" section, 11 letters by readers replying to the letter to NIN by Slovene communist France Klopcic, which NIN published in issue No 1650 on 15 August. The readers' letters are preceded by an introductory note, the text of which is as follows:

"France Klopcic's letter 'Tell the Whole Truth' (NIN no 1650 on 15 August 1982) has met with a stormy reaction by readers. At the time the weekly went to press (Wednesday evening) 68 letters had arrived. It is noteworthy that only one single letter was anonymous and that none of the readers who sent letters supported Comrade Klopcic's views.

"Because of limited space and the repetitious arguments in the letters, we have been forced to abridge certain letters published in this issue, while trying to preserve their basic thought and orientation.

"Just as we have published the article by Nedira Avdic-Vllasi and the letter by France Klopcic, we have also published the latest reactions by readers, convinced that this discussion will contribute to illustrating "the truth about Kosovo" (insofar as this truth is unknown to someone), to destroying certain delusions, and to strengthening our togetherness. NIN also feels the need in its next issues to comment on Comrade France Klopcic's letter and on the polemic which has begun in this connection in the pages of our magazine."

MIJATOVIC VIEWS KOSOVO, POLITICS IN OZREN SPEECH

AU251252 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 82 pp 1, 12

[Excerpts] Doboj 22 Aug (TANJUG) -- More than 10,000 working people and citizens of the Doboj, Gracanica and Maglaj communes assembled today at Preslica, in the foothills of legendary Mount Ozren, at a traditional mass rally held in honor of the 90th anniversary of Comrade Tito's birth, the 40th anniversary of the AVNOJ [the Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the formation of the Ozren Partisan Detachment and the uprising in this region. Cvijetin Mijatovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, spoke at the meeting.

Following the Kosovo developments, Mijatovic said, we were able to hear a lot of noise to the effect that these developments had almost shaken Yugoslavia's foundations and the like, while in connection with the increased economic difficulties we have, in addition to the critics who justifiably draw attention to the seriousness of the situation, rather many critics who see everything in a negative light. The rampage of the counter-revolutionary elements and irredentists in Kosovo has inflicted great damage on us but has also, he said, forced us all to learn important lessons. We were united in adopting measures for what should be done and we have adopted and are adopting comprehensive measures. For, these bigots of vampire-like Stalinism and their helpers abroad must realize to what extent their wishes and aspirations are empty dreams which the vast majority of the Albanian people in Kosovo reject, Cvijetin Mijatovic stressed.

Our economic situation, the member of the SFRY Presidency continued, is more difficult than it has been for a number of years. For this reason we must spread everywhere the spirit of work and zeal and we must more resolutely settle accounts with all kinds of abuse and with all those who, in whatever way it may be, want to appropriate someone else's work, particularly with those who carry out various speculations, illicit trade and the like.

Addressing those gathered at the traditional meeting held on the occasion of the uprising day of the people of this region, the member of the SFRY Presidency drew attention to the attempts to threaten brotherhood and unity. This greatest achievement of ours, which Tito entrusted to us, he said, has recently been criticized most by those, both at home and abroad, who do not wish anything good to socialist self-managing Yugoslavia. Nationalism and chauvinism of various hues are being revived, and the individual nationalists manage to find shelter in periodicals, historiography and in a part of our press.

In the religious communities too, nationalists are reviving religious intolerance and hatred among belivers of different religious convictions and concepts, Mijatovic said. According to him, it is one thing to respect the national equality and the freedom of religious belief -- and the drawing closer, cooperation and togetherness of all our peoples and nationalities -- and it is quite another thing, something quite different, to have the confrontation of one nation against another, the search for a privileged position for one's own nation, the spreading of a lack of confidence in other peoples and nationalities.

The current world situation, Cvijetin Mijatovic said continuing his speech at the meeting in the foothills of Ozren, is such that, more than ever before, we must close our ranks. The great powers and blocs are increasingly straining their relations, and the competition and various conflicts at the expense of third countries are increasingly more intense. A real propaganda, psychological and undermining war is being waged against many countries, Mijatovic said, and pressures are being increased from which Yugoslavia is not spared. For this reason vigilance and maximum common efforts are now needed mpre than ever before in our country so that we will strengthen our country even more in all fields: economically, militarily and by strengthening our unity on the bases of the self-managing, federal system. In this connection, Cvijetin Mijatovic said in conclusion, we are firmly convinced that the Nonaligned Movement will, despite the difficulties facing it, have the strength to meet its historic task. For this reason the nonaligned countries are making the preparations for holding the seventh conference of the nonaligned countries, a summit meeting which the entire peace-loving world is awaiting with hope.

BORBA SERIES 'KOSOVO THESE DAYS' VIEWS PROBLEMS

AU251106 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 13 August continues its series of articles by DARA Vucinic and Dragan Radevic under the general title "Kosovo These Days," always carried on page 3. The sixth article of 800 words entitled "Expertise Is Important in Electricity" deals with Svetozar Stamenkovic,"one of the few experts of Serbian or Montenegrin nationality who have remained in Pristina Elektroprivreda," the Kosovo electric power enterprise. He says he may not stay in this job because of "carelessness, idleness and poor organization" in the enterprise. "One talks a great deal about improving the situation, but little is done." He finds it irritating that he cannot order the best man to do a job but must constantly have an eye on the national composition of the work teams.

Even before the 1981 demonstrations, pickets on one occasion prevented the Serbian and Montenegrin experts from entering the works. "From the most responsible official place, it was explained on that occasion by the provincial forums that it was merely a case of 'social' dissatisfaction of workers."

The situation has improved somewhat, but Stamenkovic still thinks it is best to go. A director, Mirceta Milovan, has been suspended from his post for unknown reasons and has been given no other job. Several other Serbian engineers have been replaced in their leading posts by less qualified Albanians.

Budo Vujisic, secretary of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Pristina, and Ibro Jusufi, president of the Executive Council of the Communal Assembly, agree that the situation is Elektroprivreda is poor. There are scores of suspended workers who receive salaries but do no work. A number of "concrete actions" have been taken to improve the situation, they say.

The seventh article, of 1,200 words, is carried in BORBA on 14 August and is entitled "How the Student Center Is To Be Cured." It says that political work continued at the university all through the summer. It interviews Daut Jasanica, newly appointed director of the student center, who says that 11 new basic organizations of the League of Communists have been set up in the five dormitories and in the work community. The sociopolitical organizations have held a number of meetings. In the past 3 months, "we have had no calculated excesses and outbursts, except the staged brawl at the student cafeteria." In consequence, 59 students involved have been expelled from the dormitories, and 9 have been accused of hostile activities.

The work community at the center has 180 employed people, "with a satisfactory national structure. Relations among nationalities are solid, I would even say good, although we are struggling to improve them even more." The summer is being used to improve the catering cadres at the center. The dormitories have 4,100 beds and the cafeteria can feed 6,000 students. Another cafeteria with 2,000 additional places will be finished by 1 September. Applications for admission to the dormitories will be assessed by the faculties in cooperation with the local communities and communes. "I hope that last year's omissions will not and cannot be repeated," Jasanica says.

Borba on 15 August carries the eighth article, of 1,000 words, entitled "Extraordinary Term at the Faculty of Philosophy," which says that many people say that "more has been done at Kosovo University in the past year than in the past decade," and the Faculty of Philosophy was particularly busy. A university working group seriously criticized the faculty for its mistakes, which were "of a social, practical and methodological nature." The history department was criticized for paying most attention to the history of the Illyrians instead of modern history. "This department did not even study the history of the workers movement, nor our clash with the cominform, nor the role of our country in the Nonaligned Movement." It was recommended that these omissions be made good and that attention be paid to the study of "our relations with Albania, the founding of the communist party of Albania and a critical study of the origin of the 'great Albania' idea."

Hasan Mekuli, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, is reported as saying that the teaching staff has worked through the summer. "The results are visible, and we must not underestimate them. An atmosphere of work, order and discipline has finally been estimated." "As regards the teaching plans," Mekuli says, "we made analyses and corrections at the faculty, and this reexamination has also passed the sharp judgements of the party organization." Unsuitable textbooks have been dropped, "but now most of the subjects lack textbooks."

The faculty now has 3,390 students and 940 enrolled freshmen who will begin their studies in September. They are taught by 197 professors and assistants. Mekuli says that the faculty expelled "five or six teachers" from the League of Communists for their hostile activities. "They also did not remain at the faculty.... They have no place there.... Some others received party punishments, but stayed on at the faculty." The faculty is advertizing for 10 teachers to teach in Albanian and 14 in Serbo-Croatian.

The ninth article, of 1,100 words, carried in BORBA on 16 August deals with the Kosovo railroad transport organization, which complains of old rolling stock. "Therefore trains sometimes set off with only three carriages, and sometimes they are not just one hour late but do not run at all."

"This was said by Danilo Mrvosevic, member of the managing board in charge of financial and development questions. He added that they were 'happy'. The other day, for instance, when they found out that a train was 1 hour late because of a fight between two railroadmen of the same nationality, and not of different ones."

Director Dzeljadin Sahiti says that the losses last year were 440 million dinars and this year 260 million dinars, and that in addition to "objective difficulties," organization of work, responsibility and cost control could be better. He confirms that 161 cases of indiscipline occurred in the collective in the first 6 months. "It must not be forgotten, however, that workers in this way 'paid back' to the leadership teams who for years had a negligent attitude toward organizing better transportation, toward the internal distribution system and the overall improvement of working and living conditions of 'ordinary' collective members." A discussion of these problems will be held in the collective.

The former director, who is not named, is reported to have been promoted to the post of the secretary of the Provincial Self-Managing Interest Community for Transportation. Railroad workers resent the way he "solved his housing problem" and the way 105 apartments were allocated to railroad employees.

The Kosovo railroad organization is carrying out a reorganization program which should improve the situation. "Among other things, it is said, this will mean an immediate reduction of problems in intranational relations, for these are disturbed to a great extent by economic and social shortcomings and difficulties."

The tenth and last article in the series, 900 words, carried by BORBA on 17 August, reports on the forestry problem in Kosovo. Of about 440,000 hectares of forests in Kosovo, about one third are in private ownership and the rest are often exploited by private people, it notes. Many private sawmills cut stolen timber, Nedzad Karahoda, director of the Sara forestry work organization, says. He complains about official neglect of the forests and his work organization.

PRIZREN COMMISSION REPORTS EXCESSES, EMIGRATION

AU252037 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Summary] An expanded meeting of the commission appointed to prevent the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins met in the city of Prizren. The meeting was informed that from 1 January to 1 August of this year, "63 excesses were registered in Prizren commune, of which 46 were directed against members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality and 19 against members of the Albanian nationality." The meeting also stressed that intensive activity must be carried out in all local communities for the timely prevention of all forms of hostile activity. The political and security situation varies from one group of villages to the next, it was stressed at the meeting. "The political and security situation in (Lutovlav) village is not very good, and there have been cases of pressure. Morever, although it is known that inhabitants of this village from the ranks of Serbs have brought land and built houses outside Kosovo, they are still not giving any reasons for their eventual departure." The meeting decided that intensive efforts will be made to prevent such phenomena.

KOSOVO SOCIALIST ALLIANCE LEADERS MEET

LD231926 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 23 Aug 82

[Text] Pristina, 23 Aug (TANJUG) -- The political and security situation in the province was the topic of a meeting today of the presidents of the Socialist Alliance Conferences of the 22 Kosovo municipalities. Several themes dominated the meeting, but attention focussed on the struggle against negative manifestations of various kinds. Bajram Seljani, president of the SAWP Provincial Conference Presidium said no advantages accrued from a principled criticism of negative manifestations; the names and surnames of bureaucrats and opportunists, of participants in bribes and corruption and of all those who abuse social property must be spelled out regardless of who is involved.

Speaking of the problem of emigration [word indistinct] Seljani said that not only should this process be stopped, but also that it is (?paramount) that Serbs and Montenegrins should return to Kosovo. This must be done first and foremost by the leading cadres of Serbo nationality. By returning with their families they will set a personal example in the best way to contribute to the growing trust in the League of Communists of Kosovo. The struggle to stabilize the political and security situation calls for vigorous and uncomprising struggle against the enemy. It is necessary to include women in political life in a massive way to prevent them being used by the nationalists for their own ends, as has already been done in villages in the Prizren and Suva Reka municipalities.

The meeting discussed the purchase of the market surplus of this year's wheat harvest. It was reported that out of the planned 90,000 tons of wheat only 27,000 tons had been bought. This is disrupting the market's flour supplies. [words indistinct] Agricultural producers will have to explain why they are unnecessaryily storing wheat in their own barns while there is no flour on the market. Various speculators who are contributing to the disrupting in food supplies will find themselves under threat of the law as well.

This meeting has also shown that a great deal of work is facing the Socialist Alliance, which must launch into a powerful political offensive.

SERBIAN COUNCIL CONSIDERS ECONOMIC ILLS, PLANS

AU252056 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Aug 82

[Momcilo Boskovic report]

[Summary] The Serbian Executive Council, at its session today, discussed the energy situation and heard a report on personal incomes during the past 6 months. More than 40 percent of associated labor organizations have exceeded the agreed limits in personal income increases. "The Serbian Executive Council is against a freeze on personal incomes, but believes that it is nevertheless necessary to draft a bill on harmonizing incomes with work results." An income freeze "would mean we have no confidence in the social action which is being conducted for the purpose of reducing the incomes of the employed to the limits envisaged by the resolution [on economic policy in 1982]. It would in fact be a reward to all those who have exceeded the agreed limits and are getting high pay regardless of work results.

Comprehensive political action is needed and individuals should be made politically responsible. Associated labor organizations that have increased their personal incomes above average include banks, electricity distribution organizations and self-managing interest communities. Particular attention must be paid to those organizations which have been running up losses and yet have increased personal incomes. Milos Milosavljevic, vice president of the Serbian Executive Council, listed among them JAT [Yugoslav airline], the Kraljevo metal combine -- which increased incomes 91 percent and ran up losses exceeding 51 million dinars -- the Prahovo combine and the Jasna plant of Kraljevo.

Utmost energy savings will have to be made this fall and winter. The consumption of electricity in the first half of the year exceeded the plan. "Coal production was about 60 percent below the program." In the past 7 months, 4.5 percent more oil products were consumed than in the same period last year. The Serbian Executive Council adopted an energy savings program which proposes that radio and television programs be cut by at least 2 hours a day, that electricity not be supplied for sports events in the evening and possibilities for exchanging electricity with neighboring countries be examined. The Federal Executive Council should introduce gasoline and diesel fuel restrictions. The deliveries of heavy fuel oil to consumers should be reduced 18 percent below the deliveries in the first 7 months this year.

BRIEFS

NEW SKOPJE OIL REFINERY -- Construction work on the Skopje oil refinery is drawing to an end and the oil refinery is expected to become operational in the second half of September. It is planned that the refinery will annually process 2.5 million tons of oil and produce gasoline, diesel oil, heating oil and heavy oil. Starting next year it will also produce butane-propane gas. Construction of this oil refinery began in 1979. Together with this refinery, the Yugoslav oil refineries will have a capacity of processing 30 millions tons of oil per year. However, the annual oil processing in these refineries does not exceed 14 million tons. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Aug 82 p 5 AU]

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA DRUG ADDICTS -- Sarajevo, 15 Aug (TANJUG) -- The organs of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Secretariat for Internal Affairs have achieved good results in suppressing and detecting the illicit trade in and abuse of drugs. However, drug addiction in the republic is increasing, particularly among young people. There are 785 registered drug addicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina, of which 351 live in Sarajevo and the others in other large towns. In 85 percent of the cases the drug addicts are persons of 15-22 years of age. The greatest problem is among the schoolchildren and young people who, because of their drug addiction, do not regularly attend school or completely give up their schooling. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Aug 82 p 10 AU]